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IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS

HEARING BEFORE THE COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

ONE HUNDREDTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

HELSINKI MONITORS

OCTOBER 22, 1987

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PUBLIC HEARING ON HELSINKI MONITORS

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1987

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE,
Washington, DC.

The Commission met, pursuant to notice, in Committee Room 138, of the Dirksen Senate Office Building, at 10:00 a.m., Representative Steny H. Hoyer, Chairman, and Senator Dennis DeConcini, Cochairman, presiding.

In attendance: Commissioners, Representatives Don Ritter, John Porter, Bill Richardson and Chris Smith; Senators Harry Reid, Alfonse D'Amato, Frank Lautenberg and John Heinz. Also participating Representative Louise Slaughter from New York and House Chief Deputy Whip Mr. David Bonior from Michigan.

Also in attendance: Samuel G. Wise, staff director; Mary Sue Hafner, deputy staff director and general counsel; Jane Fisher, Senior Staff consultant; and Orest Deychakiwsky, coordinator.

OPENING STATEMENT OF CHAIRMAN HOYER

Chairman HOYER. Ladies and gentlemen, I want to call to order this hearing of the Commission on Security and Cooperation, the Helsinki Commission.

I will be calling on to my right for a statement, the Cochairman of our Commission, Senator DeConcini in just a minute. I want to introduce to my left, Congresswoman Louise Slaughter from the State of New York; a new Member of Congress but a very active Member of Congress in the human rights effort. We are very pleased that she could join us this morning for a short time.

Last week, I had the honor of representing the United States, together with a senior Senator from New York, Mr. Moynihan, on the ABC Capital-to-Capital Broadcast, the live Spacebridge Program linking Members of the U.S. Congress and the Supreme Soviet. It was shown, uncensored, throughout the Soviet Union.

Our topic was one that the Soviet people are not accustomed to hearing the truth about—human rights. Over 100 million Soviet citizens, we are told, watched and listened to a remarkably frank discussion on human rights in the Soviet Union.

Never before has such a broadcast aired in the U.S.S.R. We were able to ask Soviet officials, before millions of their own people, why they restrict religion, movement and political and national expression—why they have policies which we in the West cannot and, frankly, should never understand.

The general idea that they tried to convey was that the situation is changing—that there are, indeed, shortcomings in their practices which they are trying to correct.

Of course, the world waits to see whether their actions will accord with their words and promises. We await real progress in Soviet Helsinki compliance. We wait to see how these changes will affect Soviet society, and we wait to see the impact on Soviet citizens with the least amount of influence on Moscow—the half of the Soviet population that is non-Russian.

Few individuals are in a more unique position to offer insights into these questions than our witnesses today—two Ukrainian and two Georgian human rights activists recently released from Soviet prisons. They come from two formerly independent nations—now Soviet Republics—Ukraine and Georgia. They represent two proud peoples, each with their own ancient and unique historical, cultural and religious traditions. Georgia and Ukraine, throughout much of their history, especially in this century, have suffered greatly. Yet these nations still aspire to a future where fundamental human freedoms are respected.

The Helsinki Commission is very pleased to welcome to these hearings these four men who, despite relentless persecution, maintain their dignity and their commitment to the struggle for human rights. Their persistence, despite the KGB's most tenacious efforts, is a testament to their courage and devotion to ideals embodied in the Helsinki Final Act.

Mr. Josyp Terelya is the best-known leader of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the largest banned religious denomination in the Soviet Union. Mr. Danylo Shumuk, until his release last January, was the longest-serving prisoner of conscience known in the U.S.S.R. Eduard and Tenghiz Gudava were members of the second Georgian Helsinki Monitoring Group. They also founded an unofficial musical ensemble made up of Jewish and Catholic refuseniks.

Principle VII of the Helsinki Final Act commits all signatory states to respect human rights, including religious and national minority groups. We look forward to hearing from our witnesses on observance or lack of observance of these principles in Ukraine and in Georgia—and, indeed, in the entire Soviet Union.

The Commission is very pleased that they could be here, and looks forward, as I said, with a great deal of anticipation and interest in the remarks they will be making.

At this time, I would like to introduce the Cochairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Senator from Arizona, Senator Dennis DeConcini.

Senator?

STATEMENT OF COCHAIRMAN DENNIS DeCONCINI

Cochairman DeConcini. Chairman Hoyer, thank you very much, and again, my compliments to you and our staff and the Congresswoman for the assistance in providing for these excellent hearings today.

Chairman Hoyer has just spoken about four men who are living testament to the spirit and the commitment of the Helsinki accords. Their's is a story of persecution and imprisonment simply

for trying to realize their right to pursue religious freedom and national identity. Rights which 35 nations have committed themselves to nurture and to safeguard. Rights which some Helsinki signatory states have consistently and sadistically abused. These hearings today will help to educate us about nearly 50 percent of the Soviet population which is not Russian and about which we do not know very much.

Josyp Terelya's "History of Imprisonment," as it is phrased in his biographical sketch, reads like a chilling resume of one whose career has been based on how to survive in the Soviet Gulag. His "crimes" center around his leadership in the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

According to a recent State Department report, the "Communist Party has sought to eliminate religion," and no religion has suffered more than the Ukrainian Catholic Church. In 1988, Ukrainians will be commemorating the Millennium of the Christianization of Kievan Rus'. I believe that a significant measure of Mr. Gorbachev's much-touted policy of glasnost would be to permit the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches. This is a challenge which we put before Mr. Gorbachev.

When I read the moving testimony of Mr. Shumuk, who has spent an incredible 40 years of his life in Soviet prisons, I was reminded of the tales of horror I have heard as a member of the Ukrainian Famine Committee, about the terrible Ukrainian famine of 1933, in which 7 million people starved to death. Mr. Shumuk believes that "without mutual trust there can be no peace." It is difficult to trust a nation which refuses to condemn a previous policy of genocide through starvation.

We will also hear from the Gudava brothers who were imprisoned for their membership in the Georgian Helsinki Monitoring Group. Their personal courage in fighting for the spiritual values and national traditions of the Georgian people and other human rights commitments made in Helsinki is an example of how seriously we in the United States must take our commitment to see that the Helsinki Final Act is truly a document of actions and not of empty promises.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman HOYER. At this time, I'd like to recognize one of the new members of the Commission, an active human rights advocate, the Senator from Nevada, Senator Harry Reid.

COMMENTS BY SENATOR HARRY REID FROM NEVADA

Senator REID. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would ask that my written statement be made part of the record. I won't take the time of the Commission to read it now. We are all anxious to hear the testimony of these very fine witnesses.

I would take just a minute to commend you and the cochairman for doing such an outstanding job in leading this Commission.

I think an example of your leadership is this hearing that we are going to have today with these witnesses.

Chairman HOYER. I thank the Senator for his comments. While he is collecting his papers, let me introduce now from the State of New York, a person who is not a member of the Commission, but

deeply involved in human rights, very concerned about the issues that are the subject of this hearing, and one who was instrumental in providing for the presence of one of our witnesses, for which we thank her greatly. I'd like to introduce Louise Slaughter, Congresswoman from New York.

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSWOMAN LOUISE SLAUGHTER FROM NEW YORK

Congresswoman SLAUGHTER. Thank you, Congressman Hoyer, and my Rochester contingent.

I'm delighted to be here this morning. Although I'm new in Congress, one of the first things I did, along with my Ukrainian friends in the Rochester area, was to add my voice to those trying to seek freedom for prisoners of conscience. I wish to thank Congressman Hoyer, for his help and for his efforts which have culminated today in the joy of seeing the four of you sitting here.

We've spoken about you on the floor. We've written letters to Chairman Gorbachev, and here you are.

The time I spent with Mr. Shumuk in Rochester was one of the most moving experiences that I have had as a Congresswoman.

The courage that it takes to stand up to 40 years of imprisonment, without ever once compromising your beliefs or integrity is something most of us can only speculate about.

I am grateful for whatever gleam of intelligence or conscience forced the Soviets to release these four people. It's a great joy for me to share this morning with you, and I know what it means for you to be here in the Capital of the United States. I, too, am awed when I walk into these buildings.

Welcome to all of you from the bottom of our hearts. Thank you for the courage that you've shown us and for helping us remember how blessed we are to be Americans.

Thank you.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you, Congresswoman Slaughter, for that very eloquent statement.

I'd now like to recognize an individual with whom I've had the great honor and privilege of working very closely over the last 3 years on issues of primary concern to the Helsinki Commission. He was the leader of the Helsinki Commission over the last 2 years and did an excellent job to ensure that human rights was on the top of our country's agenda in every international negotiation in which we participated. He was also instrumental in ensuring that this Commission was represented in the person of Ambassador Wise, our Executive Director, as the Deputy Head of Delegation in Vienna.

I am very proud to introduce a good friend and a strong, strong fighter for human rights of all peoples, Senator Al D'Amato of New York.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR ALFONSE D'AMATO FROM NEW YORK

Senator D'AMATO. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and let me, first of all, commend you and our distinguished cochairman, Senator DeConcini, for scheduling this most important hearing, because we hear so much about Gorbachev's so-called "new think-

ing." I think it is essential and appropriate that we ask those who know, the witnesses scheduled to give testimony today, exactly what's taking place. They certainly, above all, are well qualified, and I'm particularly interested in getting their valuable insights into the developments inside the Soviet Union.

Mr. Chairman, I'm going to ask that the balance of my statement be included in the record as if read in its entirety so that we can devote our time and our energies to listening to these brave people. They can give us, I think, the kind of insight we need. They can accurately characterize the way the Soviet Union systematically violates the spirit and the rights of the Helsinki Accord.

So, with your permission, I'd ask that I be permitted to submit my statement in full for the record.

Chairman Hoyer. Without objection, all of the statements, in full, will appear in the record.

I'd like to recognize the attendance and participation in our hearing of the Chief Deputy Whip of the House of Representatives, Mr. David Bonior of Michigan. Although not a member of the Commission, he has been a real stalwart and outspoken advocate, and, indeed, is one of the leaders of the Congress of the United States on his advocacy of human rights, not only within the framework of Europe, East and West, but also in Latin America, Central America in particular, and throughout the world.

Congressman Bonior, we are very pleased to have you with us, sir.

Before starting, is Dr. Jim Mace here, Dr. Mace? Dr. Mace was to be here. He is the Executive Director of the Ukrainian Famine Commission which was referred to by Senator DeConcini.

Congressman Dan Mica, the Chairman for the House of that committee, could not be here this morning, but has submitted a statement for inclusion in the record, and wanted me to extend personally his welcome to our witnesses.

At this time, I would like to introduce first Mr. Josyp Terelya. We will proceed in the manner that we have proceeded in the past, where the statements will be given in English by the interpreters, and we will go through all statements first so that all the members will have the opportunity of hearing all the witnesses, and then we will go to questions, if that is all right with the members.

Mr. Terelya is a Ukrainian Catholic activist. He is 43 years of age, and is the best-known leader of the clandestine Ukrainian Catholic Uniate Church.

With 4 million members, the Ukrainian Catholic Church is the largest outlawed religious denomination in the Soviet Union.

In 1982, Mr. Terelya co-founded the Helsinki Initiative Group for the defense of the rights of believers and the church in Ukraine.

Mr. Terelya has spent over 20 years in Soviet prisons, labor camps and psychiatric hospitals for his religious activities, and solely, for those activities.

He arrived in Canada on September 30, and we are very pleased to have him here, and I recognize him at this time.

I want to also recognize and introduce and thank for his participation, the Reverend Miraslav Tataryn; who will be interpreting.

Father Tataryn is a Ukrainian Catholic priest and the Administrator of St. Sophia, a religious association of Ukrainian Catholics in Canada.

[The following testimony is given through an interpreter.]

STATEMENT OF JOSYP TERELYA

Mr. TERELYA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Members of the Helsinki Commission, Allow me first of all to thank the Government of the United States and the people of this great country for your efforts on my behalf while I was in prison. We are all well aware of the various statements made on my behalf and on the behalf of my conferees made by the President, Mr. Reagan; by Mr. Hoyer and by other members of this Commission—a heartfelt thank you.

You have called me here today to give testimony about my years in the U.S.S.R., my years of imprisonment and my views on the future. But this I must say is of secondary importance—of primary importance is the fate of my church, of my people, of whom I am only one member.

April 1945 saw the beginning of a massive attack upon the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Within weeks all our bishops were arrested and interned; hundreds of our priests were imprisoned, as were thousands of our faithful. By 1946 our church's leadership was living in the prisons and camps of the eastern areas of the U.S.S.R. We became an underground church—to be a Ukrainian Catholic became a crime against the state.

For 40 years the Ukrainian Catholic Church has lived in the underground. But what does this mean? It means that to be a Ukrainian Catholic in the U.S.S.R. is to be less than a non-entity. Non-entities are disregarded; we are pursued, punished, persecuted, even murdered, or perhaps worse, allowed to endure endless years of inhuman treatment in Soviet camps, prisons and so-called psychiatric hospitals. Ukrainian Catholics form at least one-tenth of the population of the Ukrainian Republic, but not one church is open, not one of our monasteries functions, not one of our institutions can open its doors. To participate in church services the faithful must gather in the middle of the night, they must gather in private homes, in the forest and always fearing arrest, searches, punishment. The children must learn not to use Christian greetings in public even though they do so in private. The children must learn to be silent when the issue of faith and religion is raised in school. The children must learn to act as if they do not know the person they stood next to in the service, the evening before. This is but a sampling of what life in the underground means.

The church needs leaders: priests, bishops, monastics, and they exist today in the underground. They are the products of an underground seminary network. Our priests, in particular are now younger men, most having completed schools of higher learning. They serve the people clandestinely, holding services whenever and however possible. They meet their faithful in secret, often they do not even know the identity of other priests.

Members of the Helsinki Commission, our church numbers 5 million faithful in Ukraine; 1.9 million in other regions of the Soviet

Union; we have around 1,000 priests over 1,200 sisters. Our church although constantly suffering, is growing. Today we have mission territories in Byelorussia and in Russia itself. Many of those who search for faith in the U.S.S.R. come to our church because we make no compromises with the Soviets. Our faithful stand firm and accept punishment with faith. Among our people who today suffer in the worst conditions, we have the head of our Helsinki Initiative Group in Defense of the Rights of Believers and the Church, Vasyl Kobryn; Polanya Batio, Hanna Mykhajlenko and the now blind Professor Pavlo Kampov, and others who are listed in the attached documentation. We are who we are and we defend the rights of Ukrainians and the Ukraine. Our church defends our people's human and national rights—we are one with our people.

But today our church wishes to challenge Mr. Gorbachev's proclamation of glasnost. Our church asks Mr. Gorbachev: "If there is democratization, why do you not legalize the Ukrainian Catholic Church?" If there is perestroika why are our churches still being destroyed, our crosses demolished, our people persecuted? The legalization of our church means an actual change in the Soviet policy on religion. Thousands of Evangelical Christians-Pentecostals wish to freely emigrate if there is openness, let them go. Hundreds and thousands of prisoners still languish in Soviet prisons, camps and hospitals for their faith and for the principles which our church upholds, I say let them go. If there is to be democratization then Perm special regime camp Kuchino No. 36-1 should be closed and the men of faith, the men of principle who languish there should be released.

We all hope for a better world; we all hope for a peaceful world. These are values common to all persons of good will. They are especially foundational for Christians—if the Government of the U.S.S.R. truly wishes peace, truly wishes a better world why does it continue to persecute believers?

To close I ask you to continue your work as Helsinki monitors; but do not be satisfied with words, look for deeds. The faithful of our underground church ask that before the close of the Vienna Conference the West clearly request the following deeds which would mean that the Soviets are beginning, down the road, to democratization:

- A. The legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church;
- B. The freedom for all citizens to freely emigrate from the U.S.S.R., without the need for special permission; and
- C. The unconditional release of all prisoners of conscience, especially those held in Kuchino camp No. 36-1.

Members of the Helsinki Commission, Members of Congress, ladies and gentlemen, I thank you for your attention.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you very much for that most eloquent and compelling statement.

You can tell Mr. Terelya that Ambassador Wise, the deputy head of the U.S. delegation to Vienna is here, and he has noted those three specific points.

At this time, I would like to introduce Mr. Danylo Shumuk, of whom Louise Slaughter, Congresswoman Slaughter, spoke earlier.

Mr. Shumuk is a young 73. He is a leading Ukrainian human and national rights campaigner who spent a total of 42 years, as

Senator DeConcini observed earlier, in Polish, German and Soviet labor camps, prisons and places of internal exile.

His most recent sentence in 1972 was to 15 years imprisonment in reprisal for writing his memoirs.

In 1979, while in a Mordovian labor camp, Mr. Shumuk joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group. Until his release and immigration to Canada last May, Amnesty International had regarded him as its most senior adopted prisoner of conscience.

We are, indeed, honored as Representatives of the Congress of the United States and the people of the United States, to have Mr. Shumuk here and testifying before us.

Mr. Shumuk.

[The following testimony is given through an interpreter.]

STATEMENT OF DANYLO SHUMUK

Mr. SHUMUK. Thank you very much.

Honorable Mr. Chairman, distinguished members and staff of the Commission, I have travelled a long road of incarceration in prisons, concentration camps and in exile. It took me 42 years to find my way to you, to your Capital, to these hearings. My first words to you are words of thanks for your constant moral support which you have for many years given political prisoners of the Soviet Union.

From time-to-time over the radio programs of the Voice of America and Radio Liberty and various roundabout ways we received the news that at the Helsinki Conferences in Madrid, Ottawa, and Vienna, members of the U.S. delegations spoke about the nationalities problem in the Soviet Union, about religious persecution, about the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches, which are outlawed in the U.S.S.R. They spoke about russification of the non-Russian peoples. And they mentioned us by name—political prisoners condemned to long years of miserable existence or even death.

All of this gave us strength to persevere in the most difficult moments—knowing that someone in distant Washington, or members of Amnesty International know and remember us and are working towards our release.

And how painful it is for me to speak before you today, to be in the Capital of the most powerful country in the world, to be free and to know that my friends from the Ukrainian Helsinki Group—Vasyl Stus, Iurii Lytvyn, Oleksa Tykhy—will never be able to come to the West because they died in Soviet imprisonment. It is painful because still other members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group remain in the horrible death camp No. 36-1; and they are, Levko Lukyanenko, Ivan Kandyba, Ivan Sokulsky and Mykola Horbal. It's painful to find myself at liberty in the free world, while to this day the right to leave is denied to Iurii Shukhevych, Iurii Badzio, and to many others who still remain imprisoned, exiled, in psychiatric prisons and those who are constantly persecuted under conditions of so-called "freedom."

These constant repressions are evidence that neither the Soviet Government nor its new leadership believes its own citizens.

And I ask: How can the West believe the current Government of the U.S.S.R.? How can the administration of the United States trust Gorbachev? How can you, honorable Senators and Congress-

men, be certain that during your trips to the Soviet Union and in the course of your conversations with Soviet diplomats they are telling you the truth?

I am convinced that without mutual trust there can be no peace. I am convinced that truth, justice, honesty, and humaneness must form the basis for mutual trust between people and between states. Trust won't exist so long as one nation oppresses another.

The Soviet Union consists of various republics each with its own language, culture and spirituality. But the existence of separate "independent" republics is only theoretically recognized. In reality, the U.S.S.R. is a Russian Communist Empire with an authoritarian regime of government. It does not tolerate the slightest signs of a desire for independence, freedom, and democracy. For expressions of free thought, for striving toward independence, the Russian Communist Empire starved over 7 million people in Ukraine in 1933.

I myself did not live through the horrors of the Ukrainian Famine because I was born in Volynia, which after World War I, became a part of Poland. In 1932, I became a member of an underground Communist organization, thinking and believing that only the Communists were fighting for social and national justice. Filled with these ideas I organized members of the Young Communist League and energetically engaged in underground Communist activity. In 1935, I was sentenced by the Poles to 8 years of imprisonment and following an amnesty I was released in 1939. In the fall of 1939, the Red Army "liberated" Western Ukraine from Polish occupation.

However, we didn't enjoy this "liberation" for long. Shortly afterwards the repressive machine began its horrible work in Western Ukraine.

On June 22, 1941, Nazi Germany attacked Communist Russia, its ally for the preceding several months. The war found me at work in a construction battalion on the Western border. I was taken prisoner during the siege of Kiev. I escaped the POW camp.

Only then, making my way through the regions of Kiev, Zhytomyr and Vinnytsia did I learn of the horrors of the Famine of 1933, the arrests, trials and summary executions of 1937. From that point I came to hate communism, to hate Russian imperialism as much as I hated German fascism.

In 1943, I joined the organized struggle against German nazism and Russian communism in the role of a political instruction in the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). In the U.S.S.R. I was sentenced for the first time for my participation in the UPA, the second time for my refusal to participate in the repressive organs, and the third time for writing my memoirs "Life Sentence." In all three cases I was sentenced for political reasons, because I could not make peace with the regime of Russian communism. My weapon in this struggle was the word and only the word. All totaled, I spent 37 years in Polish, German and Russian prisons and camps, and 5 years of exile in Kazakhstan.

Now everyone is talking a lot about "glasnost" because people tend towards wishful thinking. I consider this "glasnost" a deception of public opinion in the U.S.S.R. and to a greater extent here in the West. Can anyone seriously accept this "glasnost" and these

"reforms" when the organization of the man-made famine of 1933 in the Ukraine still remains a secret, uncondemned by the Government of the U.S.S.R.?

When today the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches are denied a legal existence regardless of the fact that their right to exist is recognized in the Soviet Constitution, in the U.N. Charter, and the Helsinki accords? When they have not rehabilitated those who, in accordance with the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. called for the secession of Ukraine from the Soviet Union or those who spoke out against the russification of Ukraine?

In 1972, during my trial the director of the Pioneer camp, where I worked, was called as a witness. The judge asked him: "What can you tell us about Shumuk?" He answered: "Shumuk's attitude towards his work was faultless, but he always and everywhere spoke only in Ukrainian and expressed indignation about the fact that all the posters in our camp were in Russian. In 1970, we wanted to write above all the entranceways to the camp: "Welcome" in Russian. When Shumuk wanted to write this in Ukrainian, I realized that he is a nationalist."

And they sentenced me as a nationalist. I bring up this point just to illustrate that today the terror of russification of my people has reached a culmination point. In the capital of Ukraine, in Kiev, there are only 34 Ukrainian-language schools and 152 Russian-language schools and in such traditionally Ukrainian cities as Donetsk, Voroshilovhrad, Mykolaiv and Chernihiv there are none.

More details about these conditions in Ukrainian education are provided in an article in the Kiev newspaper "Literaturna Ukraina" July 9, 1987.

I heartily welcome the fact that up to now the U.S.S.R. has finally allowed over 5,000 Jews to emigrate, that several of my prison companions—Russian prisoners—have also left for the West. And I ask whether it is "glasnost" if until now they have only allowed two Ukrainians to leave, as fortune would have it—myself and Iosyp Terelya?

My friends from the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, Mykola Rudenko, Iurii Shukhevych and many others are still trying to leave. This is a problem not only for us Ukrainians. The problem of Ukraine becomes a problem for the entire Western world, for the 35 nations that signed the Helsinki accords. To this day the principles of Helsinki have not reached my people. Ukraine is still not included in the Helsinki process—a problem we addressed in our memorandums. There is still not even one Western consulate in Kiev, not to mention the absence of an accredited journalist. And I ask: is this normal for a nation of 50 million, for the largest European nation in the 20th century?

I am deeply convinced that it is in the interest of the United States and in the interest of all Western nations to support my nation's aspirations to independence using peaceful means, diplomacy and negotiations.

Let Ukraine be an independent state in the U.N. and among all nations—an equal among equals. The independence of Ukraine, the Baltic nations, and all of the republics of the U.S.S.R. would be a great step towards achieving a stable and longlasting peace in the entire world.

Then the danger of Soviet infiltration of Nicaragua, the countries of South America, Africa and Asia would be diminished.

Taking advantage of the current situation in the U.S.S.R., I am convinced that much could be achieved in this area.

I am hopeful, Mr. Chairman, that you and the U.S. Congress will take my thoughts under consideration.

I thank you.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you very much, and I want to point out that the translator, Jurij Dobczansky, is a Slavic cataloguer at the Library of Congress, and we very much appreciate his being here with us.

I now want to introduce Eduard and Tengiz Gudava. Eduard and Tengiz Gudava were human rights activists in Tblisi Soviet Georgia. As talented musicians they helped found an unofficial musical ensemble called "Phantom" made up of Soviet human rights activists, Jewish and Catholic refuseniks. It sounds like a group that my daughter would listen to, "Phantom."

As a member of the Georgian group to monitor the Helsinki accords, Tengiz Gudava was sentenced in June 1986 to a lengthy labor camp and exile term.

His brother, Eduard, was sentenced to 4 years labor camp for demanding his brother's release from detention.

The Gudava's received permissions to emigrate in May. They now reside in Boston, Massachusetts.

I want to also introduce Gideon Aronoff. Ms. Bailey is also an interpreter with us, but she has deferred to Mr. Aronoff, who will read the Gudava's statement, which is a joint statement. He is the Congressional Relations Director for Action for Soviet Jury in Boston, Massachusetts.

We appreciate both the Gudava brothers being with us and, Mr. Aronoff, we appreciate your helping us this afternoon.

[The following statement is read by the interpreter.]

JOINT STATEMENT OF EDUARD AND TENGIZ GUDAVA

MR. GUDAVA. Mr. Chairman, and members of the Commission, we would like to begin by thanking you and all Members of the U.S. Congress for what you have done to win our freedom. We are indebted to you for this help and hope that we will be able to assist you with the work of the Helsinki Commission and the Congress of the United States.

The Georgian people are an ancient family which was organized as a state from time immemorial. In the fourth century, Georgia adopted Christianity and for many centuries it was an advanced outpost of the Christian faith. In the 18th century, Georgia fell under full Russian influence and it was turned into a province of the Russian Empire.

After the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, Georgia found independence. In 1921 it was occupied by the Red army and became part of the Soviet Union. After that, national liberation actions of the masses did take place, but they were brutally suppressed. Now, Georgia is one of 15 Soviet Republics.

All branches of industry are developed in Georgia. The most important is agriculture. Georgia is the main supplier of tea, citrus fruits and wine. The nature of Georgia is varied and favorable to tourism.

Georgian culture is rich and original. Shota Rustaveli, a poet and intellectual, was born and worked creatively in Georgia in the 18th century. At present, Georgian theatre and cinematography are known all over the world.

However, the human rights community feels that the creative forces of the Georgian people are gripped by the vise of the Communist regime. Many people in Georgia think that because of the general inefficiency of Socialist economics, their natural and national resources are being used inefficiently, and that, if Georgia were an

independent state, it would flourish economically. The society is being eaten away by social sores: corruption and machination which are connected with the party and form of a united "Mafia."

The spiritual values of the Georgian people, such as their language, history, culture and religion, are being persecuted and this arouses the anxiety of the intelligentsia. Only owing to the demonstrations of the intellectuals and students in 1978, did the Georgian language at last receive a constitutional status and become established and approved as the state language. However, this status is everywhere broken. The Georgian language is being excluded from scientific, administrative and management activity.

The teaching of Georgian history is curtailed. Many monuments of antiquity are being destroyed. To weaken the unity of the Georgian people, the further fragmentation of the Georgian national minority is encouraged. In addition, there is evidence of discrimination against Georgians residing in other republics.

The issue of the Meshs, or Georgian Moslems, is left unresolved. Meshs are Georgian Moslems who were deported by Stalin and deprived of any possibility of returning to their motherland.

The authorities prevent the opening of new parishes which are greatly needed. The mass actions of the believers towards this end are brutally suppressed. The official church hierarchy is under the control of the state, and is infiltrated with KGB agents. With a view to undermining church authority, amoral and criminal elements are installed in the priestly environment. The clergy and lay people who are against this, are subject to persecution.

The authorities subjugate the people for expressing patriotic and national-religious views. People are put on trial as state criminals or as ordinary criminals in fabricated cases. At this time, we are aware of three names of Georgian patriots who have been suffering in prison for many years: Guram Gogbaidze, Valentina Païlodge, and Boris Kukobava.

Currently the issue of building a Trans-Caucasus Mountain Pass Railway is extremely controversial. There is wide public opposition to this project and against the Soviet Government because of the inherent danger to ecology, demography and historical monuments in the construction zone. Petitions have been submitted to the government which were signed by thousands of representatives of the intelligentsia, students, and workers. Recently, the authorities started a campaign against the signatories: they are summoned to the KGB, the Central Committee of the Communist Party, where they are threatened and told to withdraw their signatures. Searches are conducted with confiscation of the lists of signatories. There is a danger that unrest among the students will become widespread.

It should be noted that Gorbachev's perestroika has resolved none of the national problems of the Georgian people. Moreover, there is an opposite tendency. For example, after the Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Yegor Ligachev, visited Georgia in June 1987, the Georgian language divisions of all departments of Tbilisi State University were drastically reduced and a campaign to intimidate student activities was begun.

Recently, the national problem in the U.S.S.R. has become more acute. There are indications that the authorities want to compensate for limited progress in individual rights by instituting retrogressive national policies, which result in the increasing resistance of the population—for example, the events in Kazakhstan and Latvia. The situation in Georgia is becoming more dramatic. In view of this, the political importance of the human rights movement increases substantially.

Three major aspects can be identified with the human rights movement in Georgia:

1. The struggle for national interests
2. Religious activity
3. The defense of fundamental human rights

Understanding the fundamental unity of these three aspects is growing among Georgian human rights activists, even though Georgian nationalism remains the most important issue for the masses. This is to be expected because Georgia, like the Baltic States and the Western Ukraine, were forcibly annexed into the U.S.S.R.

National consciousness, which is extremely strong among the intelligentsia and the students, covers a wide ideological spectrum, from the defense of national interests to supporting the idea of national liberation.

For Georgian human rights activists, the idea of national liberation is directly associated with the following fundamental legal principles: the right of a nation to self-determination, the right of individuals to free expression of their views, the right of patriotic associations and the right to use democratic procedures in resolving the issue of Georgia's separation from the Soviet Union. The majority of Geo-

gian political prisoners were imprisoned for supporting the last principle, even though that right is stated in the Soviet Constitution.

These days, when the Soviet Union publicizes worldwide the "democratization" of its regime, we hear nothing about changes in the attitude of Moscow towards the rights of the Georgian people for a democratic procedure to resolve the most fundamental question: that of the sovereignty or nonsovereignty of Georgia.

All of the national problems of Georgia are the consequences of the above issue, and the prevalence of nationalistic ideas creates a specific character of the entire human rights movement. Together with a relatively underdeveloped open organization of human rights structures, there is a widespread of small, temporarily national, patriotic and religious groups, which exist in an atmosphere of very active student masses with the productive support of the scientific intelligentsia, especially in the humanities.

Human rights events tend to concentrate around several renowned activists and these events include the distribution of proclamations and petitions, often during demonstrations.

The Georgian Helsinki Monitoring Group had two short periods of activity, both of which resulted in severe repercussions against the participants. First, the group announced its creation in January 1977, with six members. In 4 months it was attacked by the authorities and four members were arrested and its activity stopped. In the spring of 1985, the group reappeared with new members, also numbering six. At that time, my brother and I became involved. Once again, after three months, the KGB destroyed the group: 3 members were imprisoned and two emigrated to the West.

In our activities we emphasized the necessity to observe universal human rights norms. The group published several documents about the conditions of Georgian political prisoners, about unlawful deeds by the authorities, as well as appeals to the West regarding the 10th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act and a demand for freedom for Andrei Sakharov, et cetera.

Presently, the Georgian Helsinki Monitoring Group consists of two members: Zviad Gamsakhurdia and Merab Kostava. They are helped by many supporters whose names should not yet become public because of dangers of repercussions.

Our assessment of Gorbachev's perestroika and glasnost coincides with the opinions of many human rights activists we know in the U.S.S.R. Briefly our conclusions are as follows:

Glasnost and democratization were and are essential goals of the human rights movement in the Soviet Union and they were formulated long before Gorbachev. Many activists have sacrificed their lives in the struggle for these ideas. The present exclusion of the human rights movement from the process of glasnost makes it a mockery of real glasnost.

At the same time, the attitude of Soviet authorities towards human rights activists and the human rights movement have not changed.

Freed political prisoners were not rehabilitated, but rather "pardoned" under various fabricated excuses. The process of their release was not covered in the Soviet press, except for a couple of very short and absolutely deceitful paragraphs in the newspapers.

The jamming of some Western radio stations is continuing, as well as the ban on the publication of the best masterworks of free literature.

Fundamental human rights—of speech, of obtaining information, of freedom of religion and association, of emigration and return, of due process with defense, et cetera—are not guaranteed now anymore than they were under Gorbachev's predecessors.

Changes in legislation, both already introduced and expected, are designed to legitimize the deficient Soviet interpretation of human rights which is drastically different from what is universally accepted. Real modification of the Soviet legal system should have begun with a modification of the foundation—the totalitarian and anti-human rights Soviet Constitution.

The hounding of human rights activists continues in the U.S.S.R., however, finding new forms.

Gorbachev's entire policy in the human rights area is based on a primitive use of the Western media: the exploitation of propaganda from the release or emigration of each dissident or refusenik separately and the extensive "marketing" of sensationally democratic announcements and hints. Gorbachev is playing on the desire of the West to discover a human face in the image of the Soviet beast. He is creating a mirage in the desert, visible to everybody to the extent of his or her impressionability.

Human rights activists see as a major danger of the process now occurring in the U.S.S.R., the camouflaging of the real Soviet attitude towards human rights.

This real attitude has not changed.

Still intact is the whole apparatus of the KGB and those articles in the Criminal Code which leave the possibility for further terror against dissidents. "Repentance" in this system goes no further than artistic allegories.

It is our belief that only an open and democratic trial of the instigators and executioners of repression against human rights would be a real indicator of glasnost and democratization in the U.S.S.R.

We strongly believe that the Soviet Communist system brings a continuously increasing threat to the world at large.

At the foundation of this system there is a denial of the spiritual nature of man, of freedom of choice.

The history of this system is a history of monstrous crimes against human rights, against humanity and the rule of law, in conjunction with the devilish ability to conceal its atrocities and escape responsibility.

The global danger of the present policy of glasnost in the U.S.S.R. comes from the preservation and strengthening of the criminal nature of the Soviet system. The stabilization of the system at a new level will give it even more power.

We are certain that understanding of the Soviet system is necessary both to save Western democracy and to preserve peace on this earth.

We hope to contribute as much as we can towards this great cause. We could propose a great many projects in this direction. We are counting on the understanding and help of the American authorities for the implementation of these projects.

Thank you.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you for your statement.

I would like to observe as well that we appreciate the efforts of all of those in the audience here today not only for their participation, nor their attendance alone. I think many of us realize that the four witnesses here today would not be in this room, would not be either in Canada, or this country if, in fact, many in this room had not kept the faith over years and sometimes spanning decades with those of their fellow countrymen and women whom they have left behind.

And, I think it would be inappropriate to proceed without thanking them, I know, on behalf of the four witnesses, and on behalf of all of us who admire their work and their commitment.

At this time, I would like to take the opportunity to introduce three members of the Commission who have joined us, while saying that, Senator DeConcini, Senator Reid and Senator D'Amato all had other hearings that they had to go to.

First of all, I'd like to introduce from Pennsylvania, the ranking Republican on the Helsinki Commission, one of the real activists and leaders in our Commission, Don Ritter from Pennsylvania.

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE DON RITTER

Representative RITTER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I want to welcome our distinguished witnesses and welcome all of those in attendance.

We don't have observers here today. We have human rights activists in the best sense of the word who have worked doggedly over the years, and I think we are seeing, in your words, the fruits of their labor.

I want to express my deep appreciation to the heroes that are sitting at this witness table. It is rare when people devote their entire lives to principles against odds that are simply overpowering and overwhelming.

It is my firm belief that you not only serve your countrymen who are not so fortunate to be here and not so fortunate to be free, but you also serve and enrich our country. By your presence, you elevate the public debate of these crucial issues in a tremendous way.

So, I say to my Ukrainian and Georgian friends, welcome (in Ukrainian), and thank you. I have been in both your countries and recognize the enormous contribution you have made, and, in particular, you could make with just a little bit of freedom.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you for your statement, Mr. Ritter.

I'd like to recognize now John Porter, from Illinois. Congressman Porter is the Cochairman of the House Congressional Human Rights Caucus and we appreciate his active role on the Commission. Congressman Porter.

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE JOHN PORTER

Representative PORTER. Changes are occurring in the U.S.S.R., and their importance should neither be under nor over estimated.

Of course, these changes are positive; a number of political prisoners have been released, some families have been permitted to emigrate, previously banned writers and their books have been "pardoned." Still, this campaign has its other side which not everyone wants or can see.

First, about motivations for all their changes. It is extremely naive to assume that present Soviet leaders are liberals striving for good. It is enough to mention that we were already arrested and sentenced during Gorbachev's rule, and we experienced the entire depth of Shevardnadze's "humanism" during his tenure as the head of the Georgian Community Party.

Changes occurring now in the U.S.S.R. are necessitated by pressure from three directions.

Mr. Chairman, thank you—let me thank you also for the marvelous job you are doing as our Chairman. I might say that the information we've received for today's hearing is typical of the job you are doing in providing the members of the Commission with that kind of background, and that kind of support is really wonderful, Mr. Chairman, and we are very proud of the work you are doing.

Chairman HOYER. I appreciate the Congressman's remarks, but it really ought to be directed to the staff. As much as I was collating last night and putting that information together, it's really our staff who does that job, as you well know, and I appreciate your remarks on behalf of them.

Representative PORTER. Well, I understand that, Mr. Chairman, but you are the leader.

Representative RITTER. Mr. Chairman, I want to associate myself with the remarks of the gentleman from Illinois.

Under your Chairmanship we have seen remarkable strides in opening up the human rights debate, and I want to thank you personally.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you, gentleman. The gentleman from Illinois.

Representative PORTER. Let me thank the people who are here today. We who are privileged to serve on the Commission get the

opportunity to hear from people of great personal courage and dedication, and it is a source of inspiration to us to see that courage and dedication and commitment represented in so many very strong people.

The people here who come before us today do more than we can ever do to advance the cause of human freedom in the world, and we commend you and want to work with you just as closely as we possibly can.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you. I want to thank the gentleman for his comments.

I now recognize one of the newer members, like Senator Reid, a new member to our Commission, but somebody who has taken the time to travel overseas to learn first hand the situations that exist. He has as well attended every one of our hearings since he has become a member of the Commission, the Congressman from New Mexico, former Chairman of the Hispanic Caucus, an activist on behalf of human rights in the Congress, Congressman Bill Richardson.

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE BILL RICHARDSON

Representative RICHARDSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and like my colleagues, so I'm not left behind, I also would like to say that you are a great leader, and certainly I think with what you've done with this Commission this year is outstanding, and remarks about the staff, I think I've reinforced also.

And, for the witnesses, what is most important to us, besides associating ourselves with your compelling cases, is to answer the question, how can we on this Commission help the cause of human rights? What can we practically do to help? Think of pragmatic solutions in which we can be of utility, either in the public forum or legislatively.

I know some of these questions may be difficult to grasp in our political system, but I hope you sincerely think about that.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman HOYER. Mr. Richardson, as always, gets to the heart of the matter, and we're going to give you an opportunity to think about the answer to that question, and we'll have some others as well.

I apologize to all here today but I'm going to recess this hearing.

You heard the bell, we have a vote in the House, and since its all House Members here presently we will have to recess.

We're going to vote, but we will be back.

So, I will recess the hearing for 10 minutes, and we will reconvene at 11:20.

[Whereupon, at 11:08 a.m., a brief recess until 11:22 a.m.]

Chairman HOYER. Ladies and gentlemen, we are going to call this hearing back to order.

I want the record to reflect that I said we were going to be back at 11:20, and it is 11:20.

The credibility of politicians being as it is, I think we ought to note when we make it on time.

I would also like to welcome to the hearing a member of our Commission, a fighter for human rights, a gentleman who is particularly concerned about the issues we are discussing today, and an individual who has taken, as I have said in the past, time to visit with me and with others, nations in the East bloc, to determine for himself, conditions that actually exist there.

And so, I'm very pleased that he is joining us, and I want to introduce, from New Jersey, Senator Frank Lautenberg.
Senator?

STATEMENT OF SENATOR FRANK LAUTENBERG

Senator LAUTENBERG. I thank you, Mr. Chairman, I appreciate your calling this hearing.

I'm pleased also to welcome our witnesses, Mr. Shumuk, and Mr. Terelya, Mr. Tengiz and Eduard Gudava to Washington, and I want to thank you for coming to share your experiences with us this morning.

It is very important. The testimony you give goes on a record that helps us to make decisions and winds up in making the enforcement of our human rights agreements much more likely.

Our friends, our honored guests here, have shown inspiring bravery and courage during their long fight for freedom.

Josyp Terelya spent 20 long years in Soviet prisons, labor camps and psychiatric hospitals, because he fought for the right of all Ukrainian Catholics to practice their religious beliefs.

Danylo Shumuk spent so many years in Polish, Soviet and German labor camps, prisons and places of internal exile, because of his fight for Ukrainian national and human rights.

As a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, he was Amnesty International's most senior adopted prisoner of conscience until his release in May. We salute him as well.

Tengiz and Eduard Gudava also have a moving story to tell of repression in the Soviet Union. It isn't a very pretty story, and I know that they've already spoken to you of that here today.

Their experiences remind us of how far the Soviets must come to achieve the promises of the Helsinki accords, and the elusive promise of glasnost. They remind us how far glasnost is from American ideal of human rights.

As long as Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches are banned, as long as there are 5 million Ukrainian Catholics who can't practice their faith openly, as long as forced russification continues to take place, how can we possibly take Mr. Gorbachev's promise of glasnost seriously?

As long as the regime camp Kuchino No. 36 is open for business, and people like Lev Lukianenko, Petro Ruban and other prisoners of conscience languish in Soviet prisons and camps, there is no real openness, no glasnost, as far as I'm concerned. In fact, time after time, Soviet citizens that I met told me that glasnost is a publicity campaign for the West more than a human rights endeavor for the Soviets.

Though I didn't visit Kiev this time during my trip to the Soviet Union, I raised the names of these prisoners with every Soviet official that I met. I made clear to them that although the Soviets

would like to dismiss the Ukrainian Catholic Church as a front for Ukrainian nationalism or deny its existence, we in this country know better.

I made clear to them the high priority Americans attach to Ukrainian self-determination and religious freedom. I made it clear we'll not be fooled by fancy promises or gestures. We'll continue to insist that the Soviets comply with the promises that they made at Helsinki.

And, I'd like to add this. As long as there are people like Danylo Shumuk, Josyp Terelya and the Gudavas, who are willing to tell their story and spend their lives fighting for freedom and human rights, there is hope. As long as the Ukrainian people continue to resist the Soviet attempts to strip them of their language, their culture, their religious belief, there is hope.

I'll give you my word as one who has heard the stories first hand that your sacrifice has not been in vain. Neither this Senator nor the U.S. Congress will forget the plight of those who were left behind.

I want to thank you all for being here, and thank you, Mr. Chairman, for conducting this hearing.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you, Senator, for that very excellent statement.

Congressman Richardson asked, before we left, a question that I had down to ask, and so, I will reiterate that question and would like to hear each one of the witnesses respond to it.

And that was, what can we—what can the Congress, what can the West do to assist in improving the Soviet human rights record, particularly, the release of all Soviet political prisoners?

I'd like each one of the witnesses to respond to that question and give us their perspective on what steps are most effective.

We'll go by seniority, and there is no doubt who we will recognize first.

Mr. Shumuk.

Mr. SHUMUK. A conference on human rights can take place in Moscow only when the following conditions have been met.

Chairman HOYER. All right. Let me clarify for the audience. The first question I have on my list, you are correct, is about the Moscow Human Rights Conference itself, and that's fine, he can answer that question. We'll be very pleased to hear his answer to that question.

Mr. SHUMUK. When all those who are persecuted for expressing their political and religious beliefs are released and rehabilitated.

When those who led the repressions against these innocent people are brought to justice.

When the jamming of Radio Liberty, Radio Free Europe and all other broadcasts are forbidden.

When the native languages of all the Soviet Republics are introduced in all schools and institutions of these Republics.

When all occupying forces are withdrawn from Afghanistan.

And finally, when the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches of the Ukraine are legalized, only then can we hold, or plan to hold, a human rights review meeting in Moscow.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you.

Now, if the other witnesses would like to respond to that question first, which is, what are their thoughts with reference to the Soviet proposal for a human rights conference in Moscow, we'd be glad to hear that answer first.

Josyp Terelya, again, by seniority, you can tell the Gudava's that I have looked over the audience and feel them to be the younger of the four.

Mr. Terelya.

Mr. TERELYA. First of all, I feel the Congress of the United States, without emotion, factually, with the various documents that have been presented over the last 10 years which Moscow had promised to fulfill, had promised to concur with, and yet, has not, Congress should make a resumé presentation, so to speak, and present this at this time clearly and without allowing the Soviets to postpone again the fulfillment of the obligations which were assigned earlier.

Without doubt, we who sit here who represent the subjugated peoples, and our politics both national and religious, is based on our world view and our personal principle, view the United States as a state, and without doubt it has different principles from the ones from which we base our point of view.

In the captivated world and the subjugated world, we know that the United States bears the torch of freedom. This is a country which built its state based on the Bible, and, therefore, it is very important how the Government of the United States relates itself to atheist governments in its external affairs.

I'm not suggesting a confrontation here, but there is a question, on which the Government of the United States should not back off, because backing off on this question would mean moving away from your moral standpoint.

The Government of the Soviet Union is built on the principle of atheism, and when we speak about the relations between the Soviet Union and the West, we should remember this is the first state in the world which openly stated its hatred of God.

And, the question is raised, how we Christians can believe people who destroyed not only the idea of God and the Gospel, but over the past 40 years, wherever they were, they brought wars, famines, subjugation, captivity even though we hope even in that atheist government there are people who look at the relationship of the powers.

I was brought up among very leading Communists, in a family of leading Communists. Mr. Shelest came to our home. I remember the conversations there. The Soviet Union is in a dilemma today, in technology, and it needs American bread. And, all of today's glasnost is a camouflage for the West, and they are demanding and need at any price the West to back off its principle.

Chairman HOYER. Can I interrupt just for 1 minute?

If Mr. Terelya could direct his attention to the question with reference to the humanitarian conference that's proposed in Moscow, the reason being because our time is relatively limited. If the witnesses could try to speak directly to the question, so all the other members could have an opportunity to ask questions.

Mr. TERELYA. In order for a conference to happen in Moscow, an agreement has to be reached at Vienna. Until the question of

Ukrainian national churches is decided, the question of emigration from the Soviet Union, of the various religious and national groups, until national rights are guaranteed by the Government, we demand this now, right away, and we should see definite deeds in action.

Such a first act that I await is the initial conferences with the church which would lead to legalization of the church, and an act of the Supreme Soviet saying that that is so.

Let's not forget that we represent close to 7 million Catholics throughout the Soviet Union. Without that kind of a guarantee you would be striking aside all our aims.

We often talk about individual rights, but this is 7 million people we are talking about.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you.

Mr. TERELYA. Without those guarantees, without those changes, we would not be for a conference in Moscow.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you.

I'd like to now hear from the Gudava brothers.

Mr. TENGIZ GUDAVA. I'd like to distinguish only three major points.

Chairman HOYER. Could you speak up? Hopefully, the microphones will amplify your voice as well if you'll speak right into it.

INTERPRETER. How is it now?

Chairman HOYER. It still needs to be closer.

INTERPRETER. Closer?

Chairman HOYER. Yes.

INTERPRETER. Like this?

Chairman HOYER. Speak right into it. The closer you get, the better it gets.

INTERPRETER. You are absolutely right.

Chairman HOYER. We'll leave that alone.

INTERPRETER. I'm sorry, can you repeat once more the question?

Chairman HOYER. I understand.

The question was, actually, it was a different question. Mr. Shumuk wanted to address the question regarding the proposed conference on human rights in Moscow. Mr. Shevardnadze put that forward in Vienna in November, at the opening session of the review conference.

Our question is, what do you think about that proposal, and should we go to Moscow for a human rights conference?

Mr. TENGIZ GUDAVA. I think that this proposal we should accept, but under conditions that we have to put three major conditions, and very strong conditions.

First of all, the first condition is to release all political prisoners who remain in the Soviet prisons.

The rest that I would like to say, they are not conditions, they are simply wishes and desires, but I will say the following.

First of all, to not agree and be strong in this matter, to not agree in an understanding of the perestroika, the meaning of perestroika, and human rights in this connection.

And third, national struggle for the national self-determination, it is the same struggle for human rights.

Chairman HOYER. Unless you are taking notes, Ms. Bailey, you are going to lose it. Why don't we—

Mr. EDUARD GUDAVA. Yes. He'd like to say that the West should use or take advantage with today's situation of perestroika in the Soviet Union, and to use this opportunity to create better conditions for a national liberation struggle.

It should create some assistance to collect information from national regions of the Soviet Union, and to help, and to assist efforts which connects these activities in these different regions in the Soviet Union, to connect them in one whole.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you.

Because of our time, I'm going to now recognize individual members for questions, and then I may ask some questions later on. I have a lot of questions, but I do want to introduce Representative Chris Smith. I know I must sound repetitive to the audience when I say people present at this hearing are active on this Commission, active in the human rights area, committed to the principles articulated by the U.N. Charter and the Final Act's Principle VII and Basket III. But in fact that is the case.

Congressman Chris Smith from New Jersey has been one of the Commission's outstanding spokespersons.

Mr. Smith.

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE CHRIS SMITH

Representative SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to welcome our witnesses. I greatly admire their tenacity and their courage, and their ongoing belief in God, despite the tremendous hardships that they have suffered.

I notice in reading the testimony by Mr. Terelya, that he begins with a strong statement of praise, "Glory to Jesus Christ," and I think that kind of faith, particularly, having weathered the kind of fire that you have weathered, is a great inspiration to all of us on the Commission, and in the Congress.

I'm greatly impressed, and I thank the Chair for his very kind remarks.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you, Congressman.

At this time, I want to recognize Congressman Ritter.

Representative RITTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

It seems that what we are hearing is that nationality is very much linked to human rights. The idea of separating human rights from nationality issues may be the newest twist in the glasnost debate. It is my impression that the Soviets would very much like to separate out those issues.

And so, issues, like the russification of Georgia or Ukraine, by way of imposition of the Russian language, for exchanging or the removal of a national language as nationality issues need to be made more a part of our consideration of human rights issues. In addition, the issue of the Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church in Ukraine, needs to be brought forth as a human rights issue in our country and in the Congress.

You have all said that there have been changes in individual human rights in the Soviet Union, particularly, very highly publicized actions, but you have all also stated that while these actions were taking place, that overall, when it comes to language, reli-

gious activity, and wider scale human rights abuses, there has been either no change or regression.

This is something for the Commission to take a closer look at. So, my question, first for Mr. Shumuk and then Mr. Terelya and then the Gudava's, is, what you mean by this difference between the individual versus the broad scale? This goes to the heart of whether Americans can understand glasnost, what it really is, and what it really isn't.

INTERPRETER. Could you repeat the question?

Representative RITTER. The question is, what are the differences between the individual, highly publicized actions and what's really going on on a broader scale, vis-a-vis language, and culture, and religious activity in, for example, Ukraine, the policy of the Soviet Government?

Mr. SHUMUK. To date, it seems to me the Western world completely does not understand that the U.S.S.R. is a large empire, which consists of so-called union republics, but which, in fact, are colonies.

I would propose that a map be made. Color in each republic/colony with a different color. Then it would be clear to every Western diplomat and politician where Russia lies and where lie those nations oppressed by her. Then to bring up the case of these oppressed nations. [Applause.]

Chairman HOYER. It's obvious that the majority of folks in the room speak Ukrainian. We may clap next, but—

Representative RITTER. Could the witness please continue answering that question?

Mr. SHUMUK. If there were a map like this, which every diplomat or politician could see for himself, then it would be visibly clear. Following this, the demand could be made that all Ukrainians, Georgians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians and other nations which were forcibly removed from their native homelands and sent to Siberia be given the opportunity to return—that those Russians who took over their places return to Russia where they came from. [Applause.]

Chairman HOYER. Ladies and gentlemen, I appreciate your enthusiasm and your understanding, but our time is short, and if we have to stop every time for—

Representative RITTER. Thanks. The question was—

Chairman HOYER. Did you understand it? We didn't understand it. Can we have that interpreted?

Representative RITTER. What's that?

Chairman HOYER. His answer. You may have understood, and they clapped, I think it was worth hearing.

Representative RITTER. I speak Russian, so I'm sorry, yes.

Chairman HOYER. For those of us that don't speak Russian or Ukrainian, perhaps, the interpreter would help us.

Mr. SHUMUK. Then you could clearly see the differences, where these people came from, where these Ukrainians, Georgians who were removed from their own native territories, and you could see where they were sent to in the Soviet Union.

I would demand that these people be brought back to their home countries and substituted for those Russians who have come into their countries.

Representative RITTER. Could I just repeat the question? In the face of spectacular actions on individual cases of human rights, I am hearing that on the broader scale, between enhanced russification policies and language on the religious front, what's happening there?

In other words, what's the broader scale of human rights, what's the picture of the broader human rights questions other than just these single spectacular cases? What's happening right now? Not what happened in the past. We are very much aware of the kind of things that Mr. Shumuk has said, but what's the difference between what we read about in the paper and what's actually happening?

Mr. Terelya?

Mr. TERELYA. I will try and speak briefly and with facts.

Representative RITTER. Thank you.

Mr. TERELYA. The matter that at this time the government of Gorbachev, but let's not forget that Gorbachev got his position because of the KGB and brought around himself other KGB people, Shevardnadze, Ligachev.

Representative RITTER. Shevardnadze was KGB?

Mr. TERELYA. He was, and after that, he was the Minister of Internal Affairs in Georgia.

Representative RITTER. OK. I see.

Mr. TERELYA. Today, it is essential for the Soviet Union to present an angelic face to the West. The external politics of the Soviet Union demand that they make public statements saying that they are changing the errors of the past, changing the mistakes that they made in the past.

But inside the Soviet Union, the internal policies of the Soviet Union, let's simply start with January 1987. Repressions have increased in Ukraine. The Soviet press is full of vehement hatred, and this is what they are publishing against the Ukrainian Catholic Church, against what they have called bourgeois Ukrainian nationalism.

From December 1986 to July 1987, over 150 churches have been destroyed by the Soviets.

Representative RITTER. When was that?

Mr. TERELYA. It was December 1986 through June 1987, some pictures and some of the specific churches are mentioned in the documentation that we've passed on.

Representative RITTER. How many churches have been destroyed? Did you say—

Mr. TERELYA. Over 150 churches, either burned, or destroyed with bulldozers.

Representative RITTER. This is during the period of glasnost.

Mr. TERELYA. Yes; 1987, we're talking 1987.

If in the past, one or two people were fined for a given prayer service, now all the people are given fines, or the majority of the people are given fines.

With personal contacts with General Mukha, along with meetings that I've had with the representatives of the Presidium of the Soviet Union, there was even a representative from Ligachev, I was told this: "If we legalize the Ukrainian Catholic Church, what is

the guarantee that the events of Alma Ata will not be repeated in Ukraine?"

For me, this once more says that they do not want to change their policies.

Representative RITTER. Just to end this, because I know there are other people who are going to ask questions, what happened in Alma Ata?

Mr. TERELYA. There were confrontations with the Russians based on national fervor in that area, but this did not just happen in Alma Ata.

The same events, similar events happened in Benel.

Representative RITTER. I want to thank you very much, but I want to allow my colleagues a chance.

So, could we hear just from the Gudava's for a moment.

INTERPRETER. The same question?

Representative RITTER. Yes, the same question.

INTERPRETER. Can you repeat the question?

Representative RITTER. The question was, and I think we're just going to have to move on, but the question was, given the spectacular individual cases of human rights activists released being widely displayed in the press, what is happening in reality?

Chairman HOYER. I think the essence of the question is, is what we see, actually what's happening?

Representative RITTER. We want to know what's happening with respect to religious freedoms in Georgia with respect to human rights, with respect to russification, because that is the reality as opposed to the surface.

But, I think it is time to move on to another colleague.

Chairman HOYER. Do they have a brief answer, or a specific answer they would like to make?

Representative RITTER. If they could be specific and brief, that would be appreciated.

Mr. EDUARD GUDAVA. I'd like to express my opinion about individualized human rights, individual rights of the human being and the national rights. This is thoughts you are interested in.

Representative RITTER. Yes.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you.

Congressman PORTER.

Representative PORTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have just one question, but before I ask it, let me say that having heard several weeks ago from people from Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, and having heard today from people from Ukraine and Georgia, I wonder if there is anybody in any part of the U.S.S.R. who really wants to be a Soviet? Perhaps, none of them want to be Soviets. Wouldn't that be wonderful.

Let me ask a question of tactics. All of us I think agree on our goals in terms of advancing human freedom, and I certainly agree with the skepticism that you have expressed regarding glasnost and Mr. Gorbachev.

But, I wonder whether, in dealing with the Soviets under present circumstances, and recognizing that Mr. Gorbachev could depart and the hard liners that preceded him could come back to power, whether there isn't any room, and this is my question, is there any room in dealing with the Soviets on human rights for the "carrot"

as well as the "stick"? Should we continue to confront the Soviets just as hard as we have previously, or should we hold out some benefits for them in terms of trade, or arms control, or something else, in order to make the supposed promise of glasnost become a greater reality? It's a question of tactics.

Does anybody want to deal with that? Anyone who would like to answer it, it would be fine.

Mr. TENGIZ GUDAVA. I think that in some issues you should agree with them, and in some you should not agree. You should agree when Gorbachev says that he wants to realize a democratization, but you should not agree which kind of democratization he is talking about.

All positive intentions of Mr. Gorbachev, you should welcome, but you should oppose how he wants to bring this democratization to the line. You should accept this game which Gorbachev is playing, but you should not be passive, you should take very active side, actions.

Representative PORTER. Did Mr. Eduard Gudava want to comment? We cut him off last time.

INTERPRETER. No, he doesn't want to.

Mr. TERELYA. First of all, we have to accept the fact that the Soviet Union exists, and coming from that point, you must understand first of all that emotion is not valuable in politics.

What can we realistically do? We need to increase contacts, and start to take the system apart in a sense through those contacts from inside.

The opinions of various states are very important to the U.S.S.R. as we see from the way they concern themselves with their opinion in the international world.

The West must ask, where are the practical actions which you have taken to fulfill what you are saying in order to realistically look at the world today? What can we get from Russia today? Unfortunately, the minimum. But, even if you get the minimum, that will be a great deal.

Let's not excite ourselves with distant plans, but every minimum grows into something great, a planned and constant policy from the West in its relations with the Empire of Satan.

Representative PORTER. Thank you.

Did Mr. Shumuk want to comment on that?

Mr. SHUMUK. I support that which Mr. Terelya said. But there was a conference of lawyers in San Francisco, and I went there, and they gave me 10 minutes with an interpreter. I was unable to say what I really wanted to say.

I later wrote a letter to the president of the American Bar Association, because in this case, in the matter of cooperation of American lawyers of a free country with Soviet lawyers who are part of one corporation with the KGB and do one job, we cannot cooperate.

Representative PORTER. What about the KGB? What did he say about the KGB?

Mr. SHUMUK. The Soviet jurists, the lawyers belong to the same Communist Party cell, and do the same work. They do not defend political prisoners. They assist the organs of the KGB.

Therefore, I purposely bring this up to emphasize that we have to be selective in where we cooperate. We should not cooperate with the organs of the KGB, it is the enemy of mankind in general.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you.

Congressman Richardson?

Representative RICHARDSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have two questions, and I will repeat them successively.

One, to just Mr. Terelya, and the other to all the witnesses, although, they don't all have to answer.

The question to Mr. Terelya is, short of legalization, what steps could the Soviet Union do to improve the situation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and what should we be pressing them to do?

My question to all the witnesses, or any that choose to answer, is my first question, which I still have not heard an answer, and, that is, what makes a difference in helping Ukrainian and Georgian dissidents in the Soviet Union? Is it speeches by American politicians? Is it hearings? Is it legislation? Is it letters from private citizens? What makes a difference? Don't say everything, because that would not be a worthwhile answer, although, it may be what you want to say. Specify and prioritize if you can what makes a difference.

Perhaps, Mr. Terelya can speak to the first question first, and then we'll ask the others to speak to the second question.

MR. TERELYA. I'd like to say first that my understanding is the system of the Soviet Union is the system of the KGB, one in the same.

The state is built on that, and whether we want to or not, if we want to achieve some definite steps forward in politics, we must have contact with them.

And, as another question, on what basis we conduct those contacts? The issue of legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, without doubt, we can't accept anything else. It is the millennium of the Christianization of the baptism of Ukraine, and both our national churches are in the underground. It's an unhealthy situation.

Gorbachev has not even done that which Khrushchev had done. Khrushchev gave a political amnesty and a partial rehabilitation. Gorbachev has still not done that.

Next, in order to more effectively put pressure on Gorbachev's government for some concrete action, not because they want it, there should be a widespread openness glasnost, press, radio, television. There should not be just individual cases raised. The issues of various groups should be raised, religious groups, mainly, national groups.

Second, I remember the first congressional hearings with dissidents from the Soviet Union. I remember how this really hit hard the Government of the Soviet Union. Throughout the press of the Soviet Union, the issue was raised in defense that the United States is mixing in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union.

This time the congressional hearings don't just allow us to meet each other, to understand each other, but also allows people in the West to come to a better understanding of what the political and social situation is really like in the Soviet Union.

And without doubt, all contacts with the Soviet Union have to be used to one way or another to raise these painful points, which are not only painful points for us, but are painful points for the whole of Western civilization.

Without doubt, it is extremely important how the Soviet Government will solve the economic problems, whether private enterprise will be allowed, and other questions, if private enterprise is allowed, private property, then other freedoms will come too.

As yet, they have not made any concrete steps.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you.

Representative RICHARDSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman HOYER. Now, you wanted the others to come in on that?

Representative RICHARDSON. Just maybe Mr. Shumuk, because I don't want to take all the time.

Chairman HOYER. Mr. Shumuk, the question specifically is what specific things do you think the West, this Commission, and Members of Congress can and should do to assist?

Mr. SHUMUK. The Congress of the United States of America, can accomplish a lot, if only it deepens its understanding of essence and the complexity of that system.

In this case, as regards to political prisoners and prisoners of conscience, having come to power Gorbachev first of all praised the KGB. He did not remove those who had perpetrated crimes up to this time.

This freeing of political prisoners is no great success. It is a pardon. And a pardon, the very document, justifies the repressive actions and the repressive organs.

Chairman HOYER. We understand. What we are trying to get at, though, is what can we specifically do?

Mr. SHUMUK. In my opinion, we have to put the question this way. In order for the West to believe in glasnost all those people who did not give glasnost a chance in the first place would have to be removed.

All the repressive organs, all those people remained in their places and hid themselves. If the command to resume repressions comes tomorrow, these people will all go into action. They await this. Nothing has changed.

Chairman HOYER. Ms. Bailey, would the Gudava's like to testify or comment on that?

INTERPRETER. The same question?

Chairman HOYER. On the same question.

Mr. EDUARD GUDAVA. I'd like to emphasize the fact that all witnesses present in this room, this is the fact of the success of your activities.

But, in the Soviet Union, the liberation, the release of the political prisoners and prisoners of conscience, this release occurred not according to criterions of the humanity, despite the fact that Soviet authorities presented the facts as a humanitarian act.

Today, many prisoners are still in the prisons and they suffer from grave diseases. The release of these political prisoners was conducted according to how famous was these or another political prisoner in the West.

I think most important in this case, the most important is to demand from Soviet authorities the release of all political prisoners who remain in prisons. Many of them, most of them, are very ill people.

We think that this kind of demand could be very successful in this moment, because Mr. Gorbachev, naturally, likes to show to the West—he wants to show these facts and realities about which he is talking.

It is necessary, it will be good to coordinate all these activities between nationalities between people who are not Russians.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you.

Congressman SMITH.

Representative SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Again, I want to welcome our witnesses. It is a real privilege to be with you this afternoon, and I do have a few questions I'd like to ask.

Mr. Terelya, first of all, let me begin my short statement. For years, I have been a very strong believer in the Miracle of Fatima, which occurred in 1917. I take seriously the messages of Fatima, including the warnings that unless certain conditions were met that the Soviet Union would spread her errors throughout the world.

I've always been fascinated, frankly, by the fact that the visitation, the messages regarding the Soviet Union and the miracle of the Son, all occurred. The miracle, by the way, was witnessed by some 80,000 to 90,000 people, including secular journalists from Portugal and Spain, and even the New York Times.

All of that occurred before the Bolshevik Revolution which succeeded in 1917. In other words, the Soviet Union was not an established Communist nation, and the notion of spreading errors throughout the world was, at the time, seen as something that was not possible. What could they spread?

But, with the very rapid consolidation under Lenin and then Stalin, it became all too apparent what was meant by that prophetic statement.

I've also been fascinated in recent days by the apparent apparitions that are occurring at Medjugorhie in Yugoslavia. As a matter of fact, one of our colleagues, Lindy Boggs, recently went over there and was quite taken aback by what she had seen and heard regarding that apparition.

One particular film crew from New Orleans made the trip very much as skeptics, and returned very much moved by the experience.

Now, we hear that there appears to be apparitions occurring in Ukraine. I was wondering if you could tell us how seriously you regard those apparitions, and from a political point of view, what impact is that having upon the people in terms of resurgence of faith and a belief that their church, the Ukrainian Catholic Church, ought to be recognized by the Soviet Union. What impact are those apparitions having on the people?

Mr. TERELYA. I'd like to say, my relationship or my attitude towards these apparitions as a Christian and a Catholic, the prophecies of Fatima are a signpost for us of how we should conduct ourselves as Christians in the Soviet Union.

Apparitions of Mother of God, Medjugorhie, support the Fatima apparitions, and in a short while after, the apparitions in Hrushiv in Ukraine. I was in Hrushiv for 10 days, soon after the apparitions began.

What did I see? Above the church there was a light that shined 250, 300 meters high. In that light, I saw a photogenic face of a woman, who was garbed, that was right in flames—as if in flames.

The Sister Servants that were there right beside me, said that they saw the woman was in white garb. It was like that for 3 weeks.

In a day, 100,000 people would pass through Hrushiv. Over those 3 weeks, the way the woman would appear would change, it would be different. There were even prophecies.

I'd like to say one thing. It was said, "The last shall be first." The Ukrainian people have been chosen to suffer. And, Mother of God believes that through the Ukrainian Catholic Church the Ukrainian eventually will be converted.

It was said that "After a short while, you will have your state, you will have a free state." You must have been there to see with what joy people were crying, how the national spirit was raised by those events couldn't be covered up.

Even the official Soviet television showed the apparitions, all the Soviet press was writing about it, and one of the papers, regardless of how critically and how forcefully they criticized the Ukrainian Catholic Church in those articles, not one of them denied the apparition.

The events in Hrushiv have definitely changed the political situation in Ukraine. Non-Christians come to the apparitions. I was a witness of how a Russian officer, a captain, said, "There is a God."

People are coming not just from the Ukraine, but Sakalin, and they accepted faith in God.

Before my eyes, a militia officer, who was supposed to be there guarding the church, the head of the KGB from Drokobyck, he was yelling at them, "Why are you allowing these people to go and see the apparition?"

The officer took off his cap, took off his epaulets, and said, "What can I do if I have seen the Mother of God?"

In 2 weeks, the militiaman was sent to a psychiatric hospital, and we believe that the apparitions in Hrushiv are not for us Christians. It is a sign for all politicians that times of change are coming.

Approach these matters, this change, very, very carefully and cautiously. We are told, for example, what will there be if we don't give you the Catholic Church? And, it is true, they don't want to give us the Catholic Church, but everything can change in a minute. They will give us the Catholic Church, and then there will be an increase in Christianization in the Soviet Union.

Representative SMITH. I want to thank you for that tremendous explanation and first person account of what you have seen. Very often we try to decipher why things are happening. I'm a great believer that it's often the hidden spiritual dimension that makes all the difference in the world.

In this case, based on what you have told us, and from other readings that I have done, it seems very clear that the revival in

Christianity, and specifically in Catholicism, is directly linked to both the apparitions and the long suffering of the church and the fruit that that has borne in terms of people who have been martyrs for their faith.

I am moved by what you say. I think we ought to do further research into this to bring more of this information to light.

I know that there are a great number of skeptics, but it seems that those skeptics are often convinced when they really look into the fact. In the case of some of those who have gone to Medjugorje, there has been a real change of heart, even from the most hardened skeptic.

Perhaps the Gudava brothers would want to comment on this if they have any first person information on it.

Mr. TENGIZ GUDAVA. Unfortunately, Georgian Catholic Church needs all kind of help and assistance.

The Catholic congregation people, they don't have any books, any literature about the church, and the Bible is not translated to modern Georgian language.

It is necessary to have a conduct with Catholics from the West, the Catholics inside the Soviet Union, in this case, Georgia, Georgian Catholics and Western Catholics. They have to visit each other, and it should be done.

I think that it is necessary to give more information through Western radio stations as the Voice of America and Radio Liberty.

I'd like to emphasize that today the Georgian Orthodox Church is totally under the control of the authorities. The church hierarchy are criminals, immoral elements.

The people who are against that such activities from the side of Soviet authorities, they are persecuted.

It is very difficult to say——

Chairman HOYER. I'm sorry. Ms. Bailey, let me interrupt. I have just been notified that we have a vote on the floor, in 10 minutes.

I have a lot of questions. Do you want to come back?

I apologize, because I know everybody is probably getting hungry, but I have some questions, and I would like to come back, and will come back, in about 5 or 6 minutes. We'll just run over there and vote, and we'll take a brief recess.

[Whereupon, at 12:38 p.m., a brief recess until 12:47 p.m.]

Chairman HOYER. Ladies and gentlemen, may I call the hearing back to order, please?

I think we are missing an interpreter. I saw Ms. Bailey going out to get the Gudava brothers.

Again, we apologize, but I know you understand. Today we are accommodating the U.S. Senate by having the hearing on this side, so we House Members have to run back and forth.

All right. We're going to start while Ms. Bailey is trying to find the Gudava brothers.

Congressman Smith.

Representative SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Shumuk, you noted in your opening comments that life was not easy. I have no desire to talk about it anymore, and I don't want to prolong the agony in terms of describing that.

But, I would ask one question. As a veteran of the Soviet Gulag, which period would you say was the worst, and how do conditions

in present day camps, including Perm camp No. 36-1, compare with other periods that you lived through? Is it worse now? Is the oppression worse, or has it eased up a bit?

Mr. SHUMUK. I understood the question thus. That I tell you in which period of my experiences in the camps were conditions the worst and to describe the current conditions in the Perm camps. Did I understand correctly?

Representative SMITH. That's correct.

Mr. SHUMUK. I ask this because there is some confusion as to the questions. There are very few concrete questions and answers.

I spent 37 years in prisons and camps, Polish, German and Soviet. In the Soviet camps, I spent 31 years and 7 months. The worst camp, naturally was the German POW camp. But it was brief. It was either life or death. I escaped.

The Soviet camp, "Katorga" doesn't translate well in English, the labor camp, the period between 1945 and 1950 in the Soviet labor camp was almost comparable to the German POW camp. These camps were designed to exploit the person totally and then let them die—these were death camps. And, out of 14,000 prisoners, only 5,500 prisoners survived in the 4 years. They all died of extreme exhaustion and starvation.

In 1953, there was a great strike, and as a result, they sent an entire detachment against us. They fired machineguns and threw grenades at us for 4 hours. There were 37 killed and 275 injured, of which more than 30 people from that number died later on.

People did not die in vain. After this, forced labor was abolished. The numbers on our hats, and on our backs, and on our chests were removed. Things improved. This was the most difficult period within the history of my own existence in the camps.

The easiest years were 1955 and 1956. After the Hungarian events of 1956, it all reverted back, and the pressure continued, and this continues to this day.

I sat in an individual cell in Mordovia. We sat in a solitary cell, but they allowed us to walk and to exercise together with other prisoners. And, because there were many publications in the West about conditions in the Mordovian camp, we were then transferred to Perm camp, No. 36-1.

The reason they transferred us to the Perm camp No. 36-1 was to prevent the distribution of publications about the Mordovian camp.

The Perm camps in the Ural Mountains, the special regime labor camps in the Urals distinguished themselves from the Mordovian camps in this way; when I sat together with Bohdan Rebyrk in one cell, our cell consisted of 6 square meters and a toilet, so, in fact, we were actually sitting in a toilet.

Everywhere we went, we went in pairs. We went to work in an even smaller room. It was 5 square meters, two work tables and a toilet, and it was always two of us. Going out to walk—we were in pairs.

We were deprived of contacts with anyone else, and this is the way every cell was. In this way, they made it difficult for us to transmit information from our camp about the special regime.

And for me, the most difficult or the most horrible thing was that the supervisors, the wardens distributed food with their own hands, and this was very dangerous.

Chairman HOYER. Unfortunately, we have just received notice that there is another vote in 15 minutes.

So, what I would like to do is proceed for 10 minutes and then conclude the hearing. I have a 1:30, so I'd have to conclude it at 1:15 in any event.

So, if we can be quick, and I apologize, but that's what we are going to have to do.

Mr. SHUMUK. I have basically concluded my remarks. I'd just like to say that camp 36-1 in Perm is the most horrible camp existing in the Soviet Union today.

Chairman HOYER. Let me follow up on that. You indicated that the German POW camp, the Nazi camp, was the worst you had been in. How does Perm 36-1 compare to that camp?

Mr. SHUMUK. Well, I can't tell lies.

Chairman HOYER. Good.

Mr. SHUMUK. The Germans herded 40,000 of us into a clay pit.

Following the rain, the clay turned to mud, and 40,000 of us lay there. We slept and we died there every day, by the dozens.

Chairman HOYER. I understand.

Congressman Smith, do you have anything?

Representative SMITH. Due to the time, no.

Mr. SHUMUK. This was war.

Chairman HOYER. It's still war in some ways.

I have other questions. I want to ask them, if we can get brief answers.

Mr. Terelya, on August 4 of this year, as you may know, an appeal was sent to Mr. Gorbachev calling for the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

It's my understanding this was signed by two consecrated bishops, 35 members of the clergy and 174 lay Catholics.

Can you tell me, if you know, whether any adverse action has been taken against any one of those persons as a result of signing that request?

Mr. TERELYA. As you well know, the fourth is the date that we signed the declaration, and I personally carried that declaration to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

August 13 was the date that I delivered it to the Presidium. The 12th of August was the day that I sent that message to the West. We believed that the Government would accommodate our request.

Our declaration was a basic statement, that Ukraine exists, the Ukrainian Catholic Church exists, and we continue to live.

We presented Gorbachev with a difficult situation. This will be a measure for the whole Western world.

Chairman HOYER. The question is and we want to be specific because our time is short, have any adverse actions been taken?

Mr. TERELYA. Father Petro Zeleniuk, a signatory, has lost his job. Father Michael Havriliv was taken into the army, and he was born in 1949, long after the period that he should have been drafted. He's already been in the army.

People were called to the KGB, and everybody was threatened with long-term imprisonment. They were told that I was an agent of the Vatican, that I am an agent of the CIA, and that I created the situation on orders from the West.

I was told Reagan demands that you be released. We are going to throw you out, and the others will die here in the camps.

After my arrival in the West on the 5th of October, the Bishop Ivan Samedy was forced to make a statement on Radio Kiev about his not being agreeable to the signatory—to the petition.

Knowing well the system of the Soviet Union, I can only imagine how strong the pressure was against the signatories after I left.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you very much.

I want to apologize. Mr. Shumuk said that he only got 10 minutes before the Bar Association Committee.

Obviously, this hearing could go on for days. The information that you possess is very important. The facts that you have to give us are critical to a better understanding of what exists, what existed, and what possibilities there are.

If we were to hold a hearing for the next 6 months, I'm sure that we would not exhaust that which we could learn from all of our witnesses.

Unfortunately, we don't have that time, however.

I also want to include at this time in the record a statement of Senator John Heinz, who was here, but unfortunately, could not stay because of other commitments. However he has been one of our strongest supporters on the Commission.

I also want to recognize the presence of Ludmila Alexeeva, a Moscow Helsinki Monitor, and Ukrainian Helsinki Group members, Nina Strokata and Nadia Svitlychna.

I think many of us on this Commission are going to be charged with murder of name pronunciation.

I want to thank, as I did at the outset, all of our witnesses. None of us on this Commission, in the Congress, or in this country, could fail to be moved and to be deeply impressed by the courage and commitment that you have demonstrated all of your life, each of you.

The efforts made by us here in the United States, as I have said in the past, pale in comparison. We suffer no adverse consequences by stating our views, or worshipping God as we see fit, or travelling where we want to go, or associating with those with whom we want to associate. That's not to say that there have not been problems in this country, but you showed courage in the face of a state that was prepared to take and did take punitive actions against attempts to exercise basic human rights.

And so, we honor you, and we thank you, and at the risk of being accused of murder again, let me say *Mi vam useem doozhe dyakuyemo* (We thank you all very much).

This hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, the hearing was adjourned at 1:07 p.m.]

APPENDIX A



"ST. SOPHIA" RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION OF UKRAINIAN CATHOLICS IN CANADA

„СВ. СОФІЯ" РЕЛІГІЙНЕ ТОВАРИСТВО УКРАЇНЦІВ КАТОЛІКІВ КАНАДИ

October 19, 1987

Commission of Security and
Co-Operation in Europe
237 House Annex #2
3rd D Streets South West
Washington, D.C. 20515

Attention: Orest Deychakiwsky, Esq.Re: COCE Commission

Dear Mr. Deychakiwsky:

Please find enclosed herewith Mr. Terelya's statement and
documents for the hearing meeting scheduled for Thursday, October 22nd

I would ask that you copy and circulate the enclosed as per our
previous conversation.

Sincerely yours

Rev. Myroslaw Tataryn
Rev. Myroslaw Tataryn
Administrator

Encl

JOSYP TERELYA

**BRIEF TO THE U.S. CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE ON
SECURITY & CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE**

October 22, 1987

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STATEMENT OF JOSYP TERELYA TO THE US CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE
ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE-----OCT. 22, 1987

GLORY TO JESUS CHRIST I

Esteemed Members of Congress I

Throughout the whole period of the subjugation of Ukraine to the Muscovite occupier, our Ukrainian Catholic Church was always the object of attacks and destruction by the "great State" circles of the Empire. It makes no difference whether we are speaking of the tsarist times or the days of the Red governors of Moscow. The government of the "one and indivisible" Russia, along with its faithful servants in the Russian Orthodox Church made tremendous efforts to destroy the Ukrainian Catholic Church and along with it our people and our nation.....Whether they succeed at this, only time will tell. But, notwithstanding, at this time our Church continues to live and our people hope that someday we will have our day in the sun.

After the death of Stalin many persecuted priests and monks, who remained alive, returned from the concentration camps. Many petitions were written to the government asking for relief from terror and repression. In the 1960's petitions were authored appealing to sympathetic Christian circles asking them to show their Christian solidarity with our struggle to attain our God given freedoms.

Even though much of our hierarchy and clergy were physically destroyed the Church never ceased its work. Rather the Church reorganized itself in the new conditions of the underground. But the KGB began a new wave of repression against the priests, monastics and active faithful. The KGB organized a slew of operations to once more physically destroy our clergy. In 1953 the Basilian priest monk Peter Oros was murdered. In 1957 the ihumen of an underground monastery in Boronyav, Josyp Zavediuk was killed. In 1957 in Keraganda, while in exile, the layman of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Ivan Merkiy was murdered. In 1963 in Ochieskzgan the basilian priest-monk Oleksa Zarytskyj was tortured to death by the KGB. Even more were sentenced to new prison and camp terms, for example: Basilian priest-monk Anton Potochniak - 7 years' camp; Studite priest monk Hryhoriy Budzinskyj - 10 years' camp; priest Ihnat Saltys and Redemptorist priest Mykhajlo Vynnytskyj both 7 years' each. There were many more who fell to Khrushchev's wave of terror.

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When the third Muscovite occupation began in 1944, the Ukrainian Catholic Church had 6,390 priests and monastics, whereas today in Ukraine and - throughout the USSR, there are just over 1000 priests and 1200 monastics in the underground, plus a very active group of faithful. The Church in Ukraine and the USSR is directed by over ten bishops, among whom there are some who are already known in the West: the bishop of Lviv, who is in fact the assistant of Patriarch Myroslaw Cardinal Lubachivskyj is His Excellency Bishop Sterniuk, the Bishop of Kolomyja and Ivano-Frankivsk is Bishop Dmyterko, the Bishop of Uzhorod is Ivan Semedi, and there is also Bishop Pavlo Veselyk. The Soviet authorities continually use terror against our Church: constant fines, new arrests and sentences for the faithful and priests. Even this year in 1987, when Gorbachev proclaims for the whole world reconstruction and glasnost, the camps are still home for many faithful among them: the head of the Helsinki Initiative Group in Defense of the Rights of Believers and the Church, VASYL KOBRYN; in a women's camp in Siberia is POLANYA BATIO; in the Kazan special psychiatric prison is Hanna Mykhajlenko and in another camp is the now blind Professor Pavlo Kampov. These are only a few of the best known names. In addition in the past year and a half many churches have been desecrated, closed or even totally destroyed. A list of some of these churches is attached to this document (p.4).

But as Christians we are grateful to Our Lord for having given us both suffering and hope - we remember that "the first shall be last...". We remember with both joy and sorrow the innocent slaughter of the hierarchy of our Church. We rejoice because they now abide in the Kingdom, we are sorrowed because they are no longer among us. At the very outset of the arrests Bishop J. Khomyshyn was tortured to death in the Klav Lukyantskyj prison. Bishop J. Kocylowskyj of Peremyshl was martyred on November 17, 1947. Bishop Lokota was murdered in a camp in Vorkuta on November 12, 1950. October 1 is the date of the death of Bishop Ivan Budka in Dzhezkazgan. Bishops Letyshevskyj and Ivan Verhun died in exile. The Bishop of Uzhorod Fedur Romzha was murdered by the KGB on November 1, 1947. Bishop Hodych of Pryashiv died in a Czech camp in 1950. Bishops Ivan Belan and Oleksander Rusu were murdered in the Roumanian prison of Sigetskyj in 1950.

However accepting Mr. Gorbachev's propaganda campaign of 'glasnost' at face value, we the Ukrainian Catholic Church have presented Moscow with a fact - we desire legalisation. The authorities must now resolve the problem of the Ukrainian Church or they must begin a new wave of arrests and sentences upon those who signed the declaration (see p.6). Should they choose the latter it would denask 'reconstruction' before the entire world. This Church which the Soviets contend does not exist, does in fact exist and flourish. In Ukraine

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alone there are 5 million Ukrainian Catholics and another 1.9 million in other areas of the USSR.

Without doubt should the Soviets not resolve the question of the Ukrainian Church and the question of free emigration from the USSR for all people without exception - then we feel that in no way should there be a positive conclusion to the Conference in Vienna on Co-operation and Security. It is now time that the government of Moscow show in deeds, not just in words that they are ready to put into practice the agreements which they have signed in the past.

The Church also asks that as a further sign of the Soviets' sincerity in seeking a new openness they close the special regime camp Kuchino #36-1 and release unconditionally all prisoners held there and in other prisons and camps in the USSR. We are very concerned with the fates of Lev Lukyanenko, Ivan Kondyba, Vasyl Ovsienko, Vasyl Kobryn, Hanna Mykhajlenko, Petro Ruban, Mykola Horbal, Pavlo Kampov, Ivan Smetano, Stefan Belskyj, Mykola Memus and many, many other prisoners of conscience who languish in Soviet prisons and camps.

Only when the above problems are faced and resolved in a positive manner can we say that we have created a situation in the world where true peace can be advanced. In other words, we must recognize that peace in the world is more than just an absence of war. The Ukrainian Catholic Church realizes that peace is built on measures which assure order and justice for all social groups throughout the world. And such order cannot be built on force or dictatorship since this would just be a mirage of true peace. Just social order must rather be built on mutual respect of our neighbours - individuals must respect each other's rights.

Solidarity and tolerance are the true measures of human relations. We clearly saw this in the fate of our suffering Church, in the fate of our people. We await an expression of solidarity from the Congress and the Government of the United States and from all in the West. Solidarity has been expressed for forty years, for example, by the Dutch priest Werenfried van Straaten and his organization Church in Need. We are grateful to all Christians and non-Christians who have assisted and continue to help our persecuted Church.

I thank you for your attention.

Josef Terelya

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RECENT ACTS OF DESTRUCTION
May 1986-August 1987

TRANS-CARPATHIAN OBLAST

Irshavskyy region

Village: Dornbratovo. In response to orders given by the local Russian Orthodox Bishop of Mukachiv - Sava - an iconostasis was destroyed in the village church, such is the road of Orthodoxizing the country. At the same time the local militia destroyed a cross (a monument from the 19th century) - it was erected to commemorate the end of feudalism.

Village: Ardanovo. The cross marking the entrance to the village was destroyed by village communists. The cross was from the 18th century.

Village: Bilky. A chapel was completely destroyed, whereas another one was desecrated. In response to Gorbachev's glasnost the villagers asked permission to rebuild the chapel, but the region officials would not hear of it. This village holds the record for the greatest number of fines for contravening the law on religious cults.

Village: Imstychevo. Local authorities destroyed crosses and statues and in the Basilian monastery they set up a school for handicapped children.

Village: Dubrivka. The local Catholic Church has been destroyed and everything of value has been stolen, the iconostasis was also demolished. The Orthodox monastery was also destroyed after members of the Komsomol wrote graffiti over the walls.

Vynohradivskyy region

Village: Borzhavske. The militia and KGB destroyed a Catholic Church along with its iconostasis. In order that the faithful not be able to reenter it the door was closed with two truck loads of cement.

On Good Friday, April 17, 1987 the faithful gathered in the cemetery for common prayers. The authorities broke up the gathering and six persons were fined 50 kerboventsi, two of whom also lost their jobs.

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Lviv Oblast

Skolivskyj region

Village: Hrebeniv. On the night of November 2, 1986 two carloads of militia and regional party workers drove up to the village church. The militia broke down the doors of the church. Church items were stolen, the iconostasis was torn apart and certain items were taken to the town of Skole where they were given to the museum of atheism at #1 Chalaev St.

Village: Mezhybrody. On the same night as above the church was robbed. The Russian Orthodox priest was present and took what was more valuable for himself (he is the 'regional benefactor'). The church was closed and the people now pray in the forest.

Village: Yalynkuvate. The church has been closed and the church articles stolen. The militia destroyed the iconostasis.

Village: Doryavchyk. The church was destroyed in February, 1987.

Village: Rosokhach. The church was destroyed on the night of November 18, 1986 and some of the church articles were taken to the museum of atheism in Skole.

Town: Skole. The Roman Catholic church has been completely destroyed. The Church of St. Nicholas has been closed and has now become the museum of atheism.

Town: Bolshoy. The Jewish synagogue which is an architectural monument of the 17th century is now a smith's shop.

Town: Dolyna. The synagogue is now a bakery.....although according to Ihor Hrebach in "History of architecture in Ukraine" this synagogue is an architectural monument of the 18th century.

Peremyshlyanskyj region

Village: Tuchne. In June the faithful gathered before the village church which had been closed. The militia came to disperse the crowd. Four persons were fined between 10 and fifty rubles.

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IVANO-FRANKIVSKA OBLAST

Village: Broshniv. May 12, 1987 "unknown" persons arrived at the church holding containers of gasoline. The gasoline was poured on and around the church and then lit. The church burned to the ground.

Village: Yasinga. During the week before Easter on Monday night the Orthodox Church built in 1680 was burned to the ground. All the valuable treasures of art, handicraft and woodworking were destroyed. A week earlier the authorities told the villagers to bring them all the crosses in the village. The villagers did not comply. It was no surprise then that the church was burned to the ground by persons unknown.

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Document #1 - dated May 9, 1987

TO THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE VIENNA MEETINGS
concerning the Helsinki accords and
the maintenance of peace and disarmament,

Peace be with you!
Esteemed representatives,

Four years have now passed since we Ukrainian Catholics sent to the Madrid Conference our Memorandum on the Legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. In those years nothing has changed: Ukrainian Catholics continue to fill the prisons and camps of the USSR, we are fined for the simple act of burying according to our Church customs and conducting other services..... How can we trust the statements of the authorities when they themselves contravene their own Constitution. In the USSR "there are no and there cannot be any banned religions", so say Soviet leaders and their Fundamental Law. But in truth, we, the Ukrainian Catholic Church, have been in the underground for 40 years!

How can one speak of peace and security when throughout Ukraine all basic human rights and freedoms are strangled. Our national culture and religion is being destroyed. Our national churches: the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church are banned. This is why we, the Ukrainian bishops of the Catholic Church, the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics, the Initiative Group in Defence of the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine, and the faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Church turn to the participants of the Vienna meetings with these proposals:

a) Refrain from signing the closing document of the Vienna conference until the USSR resolves the Ukrainian Church question - the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the USSR, in a positive manner;

b) Simultaneously we turn to the countries participating in the Vienna conference with a request that the USSR not be allowed to host a interim meeting in Moscow on human rights questions, because the Kremlin leaders do not want to put into effect agreed upon guarantees on human rights: specifically, we speak of the freedom to leave the USSR and the freedom of religious belief.

9.05.87

Lviv - Dovhe

Episcopate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church
Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics
Initiative Group in Defence of the Rights of Believers and the Church
Faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Church

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Document #2 - dated August 4, 1987

His Holiness, John Paul II, Pope of Rome
from the Bishops, priests, monastics and faithful
of the Ukrainian Catholic Church

DECLARATION

We, the undersigned, bishops, priests, monastics and faithful of the Catholic Church in Ukraine, declare that as a result of the reconstruction in the USSR, the more favourable conditions now arising, and also in connection with the celebration of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine we regard it no longer beneficial to remain in the underground. We therefore ask Your Holiness to do all that is possible for the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the USSR. Simultaneously, we turn through Your Holiness to the government of the USSR with our declaration that a significant portion of the Ukrainian Catholic Church come out of the underground.

August 4, 1987

With the understanding and blessing of other Catholic bishops in Ukraine, this declaration is signed by:

Bishops: Pavlo Vasylyk

Ivan Semedi

Priests: Hryhorij Budzinskyj

Mykhajlo Havryliv

Meletij Malynych

Mykola Simkajlo

Hryhorij Simkajlo

Petro Zelengukh

Volodymyr Vyjtyshyn

Taras Senkiw

Ivan Senkiw

Ivan Hargitych

Pavlo Hadyar

Myron Beskyd

Josyf Holovach

Ivan Lopatchok

Stefan Fedor

Mykhajlo Mykula

Mykhajlo Vynnytskyj

Mykhajlo Vasko

Petro Roman

Josyp Novak

Josafat Kavatsiv

Roman Yesyp

Ilko Lesiw

Vasyl Shepa

Monastics: Theodore Yacyshyn (Studite)

Zaplatynskyj (Redemptorist)

Diogena (Anna Kulnych) (SSMI)

Orests (Olha Chuchvera) (SSMI)

Stefania Horodytska (OSBM)

Mscrina (OSBM)

Ivanna Tsebryk (OSBM)

Third Order Basilians: Mariya Polihan

Eva Pergovych

Vasyl Bohovych

Nstelia Schur

Lidiya Pekolska (C.S.S.R.)

Stefaniya Duda

and 174 faithful.

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Document #3 - dated August 5, 1987

Dear Brothers and Sisters in Christ !

Peace be with you and the Lord's blessing !

I write this letter in the hope that my appeal will be heard and that many Christians of the West and of the lands of Central Europe occupied by the USSR, will come to the necessary conclusions, regardless of their particular Christian denomination.

Much is now said about reconstruction and some kind of changes in the USSR. It is suggested that gradually everything evil in the USSR is being discarded and the 'new' associated with the name of General Secretary Gorbachev is taking its place. It is said that today believers are being granted new conditions for existence - everyone is seen as equal before the Constitution. Is this so ? Is everything going so well for the Christians of the USSR as is presented in the mass media of the Communists ?

To come to our own conclusion about the aforesaid let us just look at the last few issues of the Catholic Chronicles of Lithuania and Ukraine, as well as the declarations of the Evangelical Christians-Pentecostals (EC-P). The latter are most concerned with the issue of the free emigration of the EC-P from the USSR. According to their faith and their biblically based prophecies they believe that in the last era of Satan's power a certain group of Christians will be saved through a new exodus. For this reason these EC-P decided to demand the right to freely leave the USSR. They made these demands by reminding the government of the USSR that they signed article # 12 of the Pact on human and political rights, allowing citizens of signatory nations to freely leave and return to their countries. It would seem that this issue should not create any problems. Christians in the USSR however, see the uselessness of making demands for "improvements" in their treatment. The authorities who just yesterday openly called for the destruction of religious belief and the "re-education" of believers have in no way changed their relationship with believers. Their suggestion rather is that believers should join the official Russian Orthodox Church, which has always been a faithful servant of the great Imperial system. Each therefore in his own way came to the decision that the only way out of the dilemma for Christians is to leave the USSR - an exodus. This understanding is common not only to the EC-P but also to Ukrainian Catholics. The only difference is that the Catholics also demand the legalisation of their Church.

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However it is difficult to understand why these problems have not found understanding among people in the West. In fact it seems that at times the issue of free emigration is treated in the West with silence or completely misrepresented. For whom is this done? Remember we speak not of a small group of people, rather we speak of thousands of Christians. The Congress of the United States of America has received over four volumes of lists of Evangelical Christians-Pentecostals who wish to emigrate! At the present time, I am aware of 5,000 EC-P who wish to leave this "paradise" on earth for religious motives. An additional 1900 Ukrainien Catholic families have also declared their desire to leave the USSR. It is an undeniable fact that no group, whether it be socio-political or a dissident group, has such weighty popular support as do the persecuted Christians of the USSR. They sacrifice their strength, their blood and often even their lives for Christ, at the hands of the persecutors.

It is essential to help and understand the problem of believers who dwell in the worst state in the world. At one time or another each of us individually and as a group have turned to various peace-loving social and Christian groups, as well as to the UN and to individual Presidents and premiers of various Western countries. We continue to hope in God that Christians in the West will understand our plight and will help their persecuted brethren in Christ, who survive without any rights. Brethren, do not leave us in our time of need! Pray for us and work for our cause because this will serve the coming of God's Kingdom and bring closer true peace for all!

GLORY TO JESUS CHRIST!

Josyp Terelya, S.VIII.87.

DOCUMENT #4----Dated June 21, 1984

To Marshal Ustinov,
The Minister for Armed Forces
of the USSR.

STATEMENT

In connection with the escalation of the war in Afghanistan, where, as is well known, our Ukrainian children whom the Russian military administration has forcibly and without their consent, sent into the Afghan conflict to die for the great-power interests of Moscow, are part of the USSR's army of occupation.

We, the members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church, protest against the established tradition of the Moscow government to exploit Ukrainians in military campaigns beyond the borders of the Soviet Union in colonial wars waged by the government of the USSR for its own aims. The Afghan people have never done any harm or mischief to the Ukrainian SSR, have never taken a single inch of our territory, and have never threatened Ukraine either by their existence or by their desire to win their freedom from the foreign occupant which is Moscow.

This is why we, as Christians and members of the Ukrainian nation, and as the clergy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, lodge our protest against the forcible and illegal dispatching of our Ukrainian young men to the unjust war in Afghanistan which is being waged by the government of the USSR against the freedom-loving Afghan people.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church defends and protects all Ukrainians who are now in Afghanistan, with the exception of those Ukrainians serving in units of the KGB. Appealing to the influential international circles, we ask that Ukrainian servicemen who are in Afghanistan against their will not be counted as war criminals: the full blame should fall on the government of the USSR.

This statement is an official document by which Ukrainians who are forcibly sent to Afghanistan will be judged and exonerated at a future international tribunal. Russian chauvinism is fully responsible for the adventurism of higher Soviet military circles in Afghanistan, and, as is well known, 80 per cent of the officers in the Soviet armed forces are ardent chauvinists and misanthropists.

Ukraine has felt and continues to feel the political genocide of the Ukrainian nation perpetrated by Moscow. If the Ukrainian SSR had its own armed forces that were waging war in Afghanistan, then everyone who took part in this unjust war would carry the burden of being occupants. Ukrainians do not want to fight nor [do they want] this criminal war; we need freedom, good will among the nations of the world, and a peaceful life for our children, as for today, so for tomorrow.

Initiative Group
to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church
Vusyl Kobryn, Chairman
Fr. Hryhoriy Budzinskyi, Secretary
Josyp Terelya, member.
Lviv, June 21, 1984.

*
2 The writer is almost certainly talking about Josyp Terelya who wrote such a letter in 1976.

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THE FOLLOWING SECTION OF DOCUMENTS ARE COPIES OF VARIOUS
DECREES ON THE CONTRAVENTION OF THE SOVIET LAWS ON
RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES.

The documents date from 1983 to 1986 and the fines are usually in the
area of 50 karbovantsi.

ПОСТАНОВА № 640

5. 05

1993 р.

м. Львів

Адміністративна комісія при виконкомі Радянської райсовної Ради народних депутатів м. Львова,
в складі голови Безука І. М.

та членів комісії

розглянувши протокол на гр.

Будзинського Григорія Антоновича

1905 року народження, що проживає в м. Львові по вул.

Славинця

буд. №

4, кв. № а. 14

, працює

пенсіонер

в якості

ВСТАНОВИЛА

що гр.

Будзинський Г. А. проводив релігійно-незаконне собрание не имея разрешения (?)

чим порушив

Указ Президиума Верховного Совета УССР від 26.03.1966 г. (визначив певні території)

На підставі вищевказаного і керуючись ст. 19 «Положення про адміністративну комісію при виконкомі районних, міських Рад народних депутатів УРСР», адміністративна комісія

ПОСТАНОВИЛА:

На гр.

Будзинського Г. А.

накласти адміністративне стягнення

штраф 50 гривень

речові докази

(визначити 1583р)

Копію постанови направити до відома

Штраф повинен бути внесений у відділення Держбанку СРСР (вул. Коперника, 4) або в одну з ошадкас міст в 10-денний строк з дня вручення даної постанови. Касанція про оплату повинна бути пред'явлена в адміністративну комісію не пізніше 20.05 1993 р. У випадку несплати штрафу в вказаний строк, штраф буде стягнуто в безспірному порядку.

Ця постанова може бути оскаржена в 10-денний строк з дня її вручення в в'єр суд Радянського району м. Львова.

Голова адміністративної комісії

Григор

РОЗПІСКА

Постанову №

640

про накладення адміністративного стягнення від

5. 05

1993 р.

одержано

1993 р.

The communist party is permitted in the all states in the world, but the soviet union is persecuted the Ukrainian Catholic Church more brutal as by the tsar Nicolaus the First.

Копия
Дело № I-143/ 1983 года

ПРИТОВОР

Именем Украинской Советской Социалистической Республики 17 октября 1983 года Народный суд Ровенского района Ровенской области в составе: председательствующего

народного судьи
нар. заседателей

Францишко В.И.
Герасимчука Ф.И.
Федука В.Т.

при секретаре

Марчук Т.М.

с участием прокурора Малына А.А.
рассмотрев в открытом судебном заседании в г. Ровно уголовное дело по обвинению Федорчука Ивана Максимовича, 29 сентября 1928 г. рождения, уроженца с. Горбов, Гощанского района Ровенской области, украинца, гражданина СССР, беспартийного, женатого, на содержании трех несовершеннолетних детей, не военнообязанного, образование начальное, работающего пилорамщиком в колхозе им. Ватутина Ровенского района, проживающего в с. Александрия, Ровенского района Ровенской области, ранее судимого в 1962 г. Ровенским облсудом по ч. I ст. 209 УК УССР к 5-ти годам лишения свободы с высылкой сроком на 5 лет, освобожден по отбытии срока наказания в совершении преступления, предусмотренного ч. I ст. 209 УК УССР.

установил:

Подсудимый Федорчук Иван Максимович, будучи судимым Ровенским областным судом по ч. I ст. 209 УК УССР к 5 годам лишения свободы с высылкой на 5 лет за организацию группы сектантов пятидесятников /ХВЕ/, деятельность которой, проводимая под предлогом проповедования своего религиозного вероучения, сопряжена с причинением вреда здоровью граждан и посягательствами на личность и права граждан, освободившись из мест лишения свободы, на путь исправления не стал, а продолжает руководить группой сектантов пятидесятников /ХВЕ/, деятельность которой, проводимая под предлогом проповедования религиозных вероучений /пятидесятничества/, сопряжена с побуждением граждан к отказу от общественной деятельности и исполнения гражданских обязанностей.

Будучи допрошенным в судебном заседании в качестве подсудимого - Федорчук И.М. в предъявленном обвинении вину свою не признал, и показал, что он действительно с 1956 г. является руководителем /пресвитером/ незарегистрированной общины пятидесятников /ХВЕ/.

в которую входят и его члены семьи, в том числе и несовершеннолетние дети. Последним он говорил о том, чтобы они вникали только в науку, а другими вопросами не занимались и не интересовались. В 1962 г. был судим Ровенским областным судом по аналогичной статье, однако продолжает и в будущем будет продолжать руководить данной сектой. Его "основной закон" и всех членов секты - библия, а потом уже законы Советского государства.

Свидетели Фсенко Д.И., директор Александрийской СШ, и Горбань С.А. - председатель исполкома Александрийского сельсовета, пояснили суду, что исполком и члены комиссии по религиозным культам неоднократно предупреждали Федорчука И.М. о незаконных собраниях, которые проводила незарегистрированная секта, однако, тот на законные действия представителей местных органов не реагировал. Считают, что деятельность Федорчука И.М. направлена на то, чтобы граждане отказывались от общественной деятельности. В частности, дети верующих этой секты под влиянием подсудимого, отказываются поступать в пионеры, комсомол.

Свидетель Киселев С.И. также пояснила суду, что дочь Федорчука И.М. - Оксана отказывалась поступать в пионеры и носить пионерский галстук, мотивируя тем, что это запрещает ей отец.

Несовершеннолетние свидетели, дети подсудимого, Федорчук Оксана и Федорчук Виталий пояснили суду, что с самого раннего детства они посещают собрания секты вместе с родителями, где им читают библию, в том числе и их отец. В школе не занимаются никакой общественной деятельностью, так как это противоречит ихнему вероучению.

Свидетель Мацко А.Ф., учитель физкультуры Александрийской средней школы, показал, что когда в школе организовался спортивный класс, и он предложил Федорчуку Виталию заниматься в этом классе, то Виталий отказался. Когда он спросил у него, почему тот отказывается, то Виталий отвечал, что ему не разрешает отец, который говорит, что верующим это делать нельзя.

Будучи допрошенными в судебном заседании в качестве свидетелей Смоляр М.Б., Боярчук В.Г., Вассаковская А.П. и Дудик Иван Алексеевич показали, что 28 апреля 1983 г. они находились на кладбище в с. Александрия и слышали как Федорчук И.М. в своей речи при погребении верующей секты пятидесятников Дудик Евгений, восхвалял свою секту, призывал граждан вступать в нее, угрожая, не-

верующим, что впоследствии их ожидает страшный суд.

Свидетель Дудик Алексей Иванович пояснил суду, что подсудимый приходил к нему домой и агитировал вступить в его секту, но с таким условием, что он откажется от своей общественной деятельности.

Свидетели Романов М.И. и Кузлин А.И. показали, что 7 призывников, в том числе четверо сыновей подсудимого, из верующей секты, которой руководил Федорчук И.М. по религиозным убеждениям не хотели идти служить в армию, или проходя военную службу, отказывались брать оружие и принимать военную присягу. По этому поводу Федорчук И.М. был вызван в райвоенкомат на беседу, во время которой он одобрял действия данных призывников, а также заявил, что в случае нападения на СССР любого агрессора, не рассчитывали на них, как на защитников нашей страны.

Свидетели Яроцак П.В., Майструк Н.Э. и Шепель Н.В. в судебном заседании пояснили, что подсудимый работал в местном колхозе, часто без уважительных причин не выходил на работу для того, чтобы проводить незаконные собрания, незарегистрированной в органах секты пятидесятников. Это отрицательно влияло на других колхозников и жителей села, попадавших под влияние Федорчука И.М.

Из актов и постановлений административной комиссии при исполкоме Ровенского районного Совета народных депутатов видно, что Федорчук И.М. неоднократно привлекался к административной ответственности за нарушение законодательства о религиозных культах, а также ему выносились предостережения о недопустимости нарушения этого закона в будущем.

Оценив все собранные в судебном заседании доказательства, суд считает, что органы предварительного расследования верно квалифицировали действия Федорчука И.М. по ч. I ст. 209 УК УССР, как организация и руководство группой, деятельность которой, проводимая под предлогом проповедования пятидесятничества /как религиозного вероучения/ сопряжена с побуждением граждан к отказу от общественной деятельности и исполнения гражданских обязанностей.

К отрицанию своей вины подсудимым в вышеизложенных действиях суд критически относится, так как это опровергается вышеизложенными доказательствами.

При определении вида и размера наказания подсудимому Федорчуку И.М., суд учитывает степень общественной опасности совершенного преступления, личность виновного, который отрицательно характера-

преступление, суд пришел к убеждению о необходимости назначить ему наказание в виде лишения свободы с отбыванием в ИТК строго режима, так как Федорчук ранее отбывал меру наказания в местах лишения свободы.

Суд считает нецелесообразным применять к Федорчуку дополнительные меры наказания в виде ссылки или конфискации имущества в связи с тем, что его семья многодетная и имеются несовершеннолетние дети.

Руководствуясь ст. 323, 324 УПК СССР, суд

П Р И Г О В О Р И Л:

Федорчука Ивана Максимовича признать виновным по ч. I ст. 209 УК СССР и назначить наказание — пять лет лишения свободы без ссылки и конфискации имущества в ИТК строго режима.

Срок наказания исчислять с 12 августа 1983 г., т. е. с момента его задержания.

Меру пресечения до вступления приговора в законную силу оставить прежнюю — содержание под стражей.

Приговор может быть обжалован в судебную коллегия по уголовным делам Ровенского областного суда в течение семи суток со дня его провозглашения, а подсудимому в тот же срок, но с момента вручения ему копии приговора.

Народный судья — подпись

Народные заседатели — подписи

Председатель Ровенского районсуда

В.И.Францишко

Постанови про порушення „релігійних культів“, про стягнення штрафів із вірних УКЦ.

АДМІНІСТРАТИВНА КОМІСІЯ РАЙОНКОМУ ІРШАВСЬКОЇ РАЙОННОЇ
РАДИ НАРОДНИХ ДЕПУТАТІВ

ПОСТАНОВА № 292

про накладання адміністративного стягнення

«06» 06 1985 р.

м. Іршава

Адміністративна комісія в складі: Голова - Сливка, секретар - Карпуніс,
члени - Трещинів, Єжик, Войнарович, Бусинів

Розглянувши протокол № 80132 від 26.05.85 на громад. Валог Юрій Денисов - 1914р.ч.
який проживає в с. Ратко, Тішки, вул. Леніна, Халісине, 1

ВСТАНОВИЛА:

що громад. Карпуніс записався про культ

АДМІНІСТРАТИВНА КОМІСІЯ ПОСТАНОВИЛА:

Накласти на громад. Валог Юрій Денисову

Адміністративне стягнення штраф п'ятдесят крб

Штраф повинен бути внесений в ощадну касу на протязі 15 днів з дня вручення постанови.

В разі неоплати в визначений строк штраф стягується в безспірному порядку з заробітку оштрафованого, а при відсутності заробітку через народний суд.

Постанова може бути оскаржена в народний суд на протязі 10 днів з дня вручення.

Голова комісії:

Секретар комісії: Карпуніс

Постанову № 292 одержав «06» 06 1985 р.

Підпис

5.04.1986г.

г. 215-Франковск

Старший уполномоченный инспектор 216010-
Франковского ГОВД ст. и.л.т. милиции
Товдун В.М. в присутствии
двух конных

1. Духовик Мария Ивановна
и Мужик 102 №63
2. Шкверчук Сергей Сергеевич
и Дзержинского 58 №63

изъяты у г-на Сидорова Николая
Михайловича 1952 г.р. проживающего
в с.е. Туджковской 215-Франковского р.
следующие подделки:

1. Финкорова
2. Хрески
3. Тиробник
4. Сердюки в виде фотографий.
63 (мешковаты при надувании)

Известие о приговоре и рекомендациях
Буддене хранится в 215-Франковском ГОВД
по уголовному делу

1. Духовик / Духовик /
2. Шкверчук / Шкверчук /

Сидорова /
ст. и.л.т. милиции ГОВД

Товдун / Товдун /

ПОСТАНОВА

адміністративної комісії при виконкомі Виноградівської районної Ради народних депутатів

23 грудня

1986 р.

адміністративна комісія при виконкомі Виноградівської район-

ної Ради народних депутатів у складі розслідує

Куліш Г.В.

секретаря Сідей М.І.

та членів комісії Бідзіля Г.П.

Варга О.М., Чонка К.М., Луцків Р.В., Поган М.П., Ребрик М.М.

розглянула матеріали на громадянина Моритиса Т.В. Антоновича

1986 року народження, що проживає в с. Гориса Все

просто, що в зв'язі з 1986 року в 23 год зр Моритис Т.В. проводив незаконні збори з збиранням

як порушення (наказання полягає в назві постанови, закону іх дата номер) статті Кодекса адміністративних правопорушень УРСР

За підставою пункту 19 Положення про адміністративну комісію при виконкомі Ради народних депутатів, комісія постановила

штрафувати Моритиса Т.В. штрафом 50 крб

(вказати вид стягнення)

Постанова комісії може бути оскаржена:

- а) при накладенні штрафу до районного народного суду в 10-ти денний строк з дня вручення постанови,
 - б) при інші види адміністративних стягнень — до виконкому відповідної Ради народних депутатів.
- Штраф, як записаний в постанові 17 крб з дня вручення постанови стягується в безпідставному порядку з зарплатку громадянина. При відсутності зарплатки постанова направляється судовому виконавцю для звернення дії на майно громадянина.

Голова комісії:

Куліш Г.В.

Секретар адміністративної комісії:

Сідей М.І.

Адміністративна комісія ~~в складі~~

ГОЛОВНОГО

Членів

~~СЕКРЕТАРН~~

Розглянувши протокол (акт) на гр Сіменко Ігор Іванович
(прізвище, ім'я та по батькові)

який проживає с. Підштур

приюте Б.Т. "Тилес" (домашняя адреса)

(назва підприємства, установи або організації)

ВСТАНОВИЛА:

[illegible]

(назва і дата нормативного акту, який встановлює адміністративну відповідальність)

ПОСТАНОВИЛА:

На гр. Симеонию Г. М.

1

(справу закрити в зв'язку з відсутністю підстав)

2

(Вважати доповідню справу розкрити на розгляд товаришів суду)

3. Накласти адміністративне стягнення Шмерда ІО (нефін) кр

(заг. стягнення, розмір штрафів двадцяти дробляком)

Про накладене стягнення довести до відома:

(адміністрації громадянських організацій за місцем роботи, проживання, порушення)

Штраф повинен бути вчасний до 3.06.98 р. на рахунок № 9341

Ця постанова може бути оскаржена: про накладання штрафу — до районного народного суду в 10-денний строк з дня вручення постанови, про інші види адміністративних стягнень — до виконкому районної Ради народних депутатів.

Головующий В. А. Костин

Члени комісії

Секретар

Постанову № _____ від «___» _____ 198 р. про накладання адміністративного стягнення мені оголошено.

198 p

(ОДНОС)

АДМІНІСТРАТИВНА КОМІСІЯ ВИКОНКОМУ ІРШАВСЬКОЇ РАЙОННОЇ
РАДИ НАРОДНИХ ДЕПУТАТІВ

ПОСТАНОВА № 116

18 квітня 1957 р. про накладання адміністративного стягнення

м. Іршава

Адміністративна комісія в складі

Гарб С.В., Чижур С.С.,
Рибко С.С., Жукан М.С., Рибко С.С.,
Харченко Т.С.

розглянувши протокол №

від

на громад.

№ 00188.

Бірюк Михайло Миколайович

який проживає в с.

Богородичів, В.Б. 33.

1934 р.

ВСТАНОВИЛА:

за громад.

№ 112

за громад.

№ 112

за громад.

№ 112

за громад.

№ 112

за громад.

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за громад.

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за громад.

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за громад.

№ 112

за громад.

№ 112

АДМІНІСТРАТИВНА КОМІСІЯ ПОСТАНОВИЛА

Накласти на громад.

№ 112

за громад.

№ 112

за громад.

№ 112

за громад.

№ 112

за громад.

№ 112

за громад.

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за громад.

№ 112

за громад.

№ 112

за громад.

№ 112

за громад.

№ 112

Адміністративне стягнення

штраф 50

штраф 50

штраф 50

штраф 50

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штраф 50

Штраф повинен бути внесений в ощадну касу на протязі 15 днів з дня вручення постанови.

В разі неоплати в визначений строк штраф стягується в безспірному порядку з заробітку оштрафованого, а при відсутності заробітку через народний суд.

Постанова може бути оскаржена на протязі 10 днів з дня її вручення.

Голова комісії:

Секретар комісії:

Постанову № 116

одержав

№ 00188

1957 р.

Підпис:

Бірюк

Форма з 2632-2000 86 р

JOSYP TERELYA ---- BRIEF TO THE U.S. CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE ON SECURITY &
CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE ----- OCTOBER 22, 1987

IN THE FOLLOWING SECTION WE HAVE PHOTOGRAPHS OF
VARIOUS LEADERS AND EVENTS OF SIGNIFICANCE IN THE
PAST FORTY YEAR HISTORY OF THE PERSECUTION OF THE
UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Index of Photographs of Church leaders and events:

- A - Bishop Theodore Romzha 11 months before he was to be murdered by the KGB on November 1, 1947.
- B - Bishop Romzha on his death bed in the Mukachiv hospital, Nov. 1, 1947.
- C - Bishop Khomyshyn of Stanislaviv, died in a Soviet camp in 1947.
- D - The Bishop of Pryashiv (Trans-Carpathian Ukraine). This eparchy was repressed by the Czechoslovak government in 1950 as a result of Soviet KGB orders.
- E - A photo of the Church of St. Nicholas in the village of Maydan, Transcarpathia, after it was destroyed - September 26, 1974. Local party officials, on KGB orders paid a villager Fedir Zhabyak 300 rubles to burn this architectural monument of the 17th century.
- F - A 1975 photograph of the Uspenskyj cathedral (sobor) of the Kyivan-Caves Monastery. The Church was blown up by the NKVD in 1941 while the Soviets were retreating from Kiev.
- G - 1976 -The village of Hoshiv in Ivano-Frankivsk. Ukrainian Catholics gather in front of the closed Church for a pilgrimage. The Church was closed by the Soviets, but the people have placed an icon of the Mother of God on the door and pray before it. In April of 1987, this church was burned in the middle of the day.
- H - In 1979 Ukrainian Catholics gather near Lviv to bury an underground Ukrainian Catholic priest.....When will we be allowed to openly bury our dead and pray for them?
- I - A 1985 photo of the Bernardine Cathedral in the town of Dubno in the Rovenska region. Today in the Church is found a camp for juvenile delinquents.
- J - An April, 1987 photo of the village church in Morshyn. In March the church was closed because the villagers refused to accept a Russian Orthodox priest. The interior of the church was gutted and the articles of value were taken to a Russian Orthodox church.
- K - The church in the village of Borzhavske, region Vynohradivske, Trans-Carpathian Ukraine. In December of 1986 the interior of the church

was ransacked and the exterior vandalized. Since parishioners still gathered in it the authorities closed the church in March by pouring cement in front of the door (photo L).

- L - The entrance to the church in the village of Borzhavske, region Vynohradiyske, Trans-Carpathian Ukraine after cement was poured in the entrance. Photo from June 1987.
- M - Fr. M. Havryliv an underground Ukrainian Catholic priest and author of EVERY PERSON HIS FIRST OF ALL A HISTORY. The photo is from August, 1987. In the background is a Catholic Church in Lviv, the interior of which has been ransacked.
- N - The faithful gather at Zarvanytsya, for the feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God. Thousands of faithful gather here for an annual pilgrimage August 29, 1987.
- O - Divine Liturgy in the forest near Zarvanytsya this past August. The Liturgy was celebrated by Bishop Pavlo Vasyluk, Fr. T. Senkiw, Fr. M. Simkajlo, Fr. V. Simkajlo, Fr. H. Vasko, Fr. H. Havryliv and others. After the Liturgy a Panakhida (memorial service) was celebrated for those who died in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).
- P - Josyp Terelja speaking with the faithful at Zarvanytsya - August 29, 1987.
- Q - The responses to the Liturgy at Zarvanytsya were sung by mainly young men and women.



фото 1946 року за 11-ть місяців до смерті...
на фотографії єпископ Федір Ромка вбитий КГБ 1-го листопада 1947р.



Фото 1947 р. 1-го листопада, в мукачівській лікарні
вбитий КГБ Апостольський візитатор Карпатської України
єпископ Федір Ромжа...

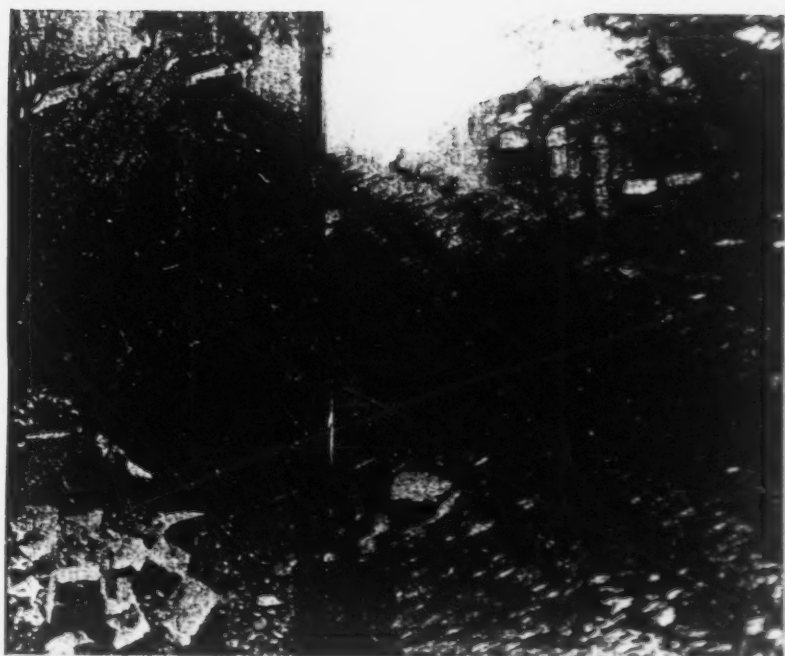


Єпископ Станіславівський Г. Хомишин знищений в

московському концтаборі в 1947 р.



На фотографії єпископ Карпатської України Премієвського кра.,
який розстріляний євреями в СР в 1944 р. на вказівці жидівського ГІБ.



(28 вересня 1974 року в селі Маядан, Закарпатської обл. було спалено церкву св. МИКОЛАЯ). По вказівці КГБ та місцевого відділу партії житель села Федір Жаб'як за 300 советських рублів спалив унікальний пам'ятку архітектури 17-го століття...



Фото 1975 року м. Київ Успенський собор Києво-Печерської лаври,
під час втечі із Києва в 1941 році від німців НКВД підірвало церкву.



Село Гошів Івано-Франківської обл., українські католики
під час відпусту - окупанти церкву зачинили, люди на двері зачиненої
церкви прибили ікону Божої Матері і моляться просто неба ...
Фото 1976 року. В 1987 році в квітні місяці церква у Гошові от.ЧСВВ
була спалена серед білого дня...



Фото 1979 р. місто ЛЬВІВ (під містом) похорон українського під -
пільного священника... Коли ми зможемо хоронити та молитися відкрито?



фото 1985 року м. Дубно, що на Ровенщині - тут тепер розміщено
концтабір для неповнолітніх, Бернардинський собор.

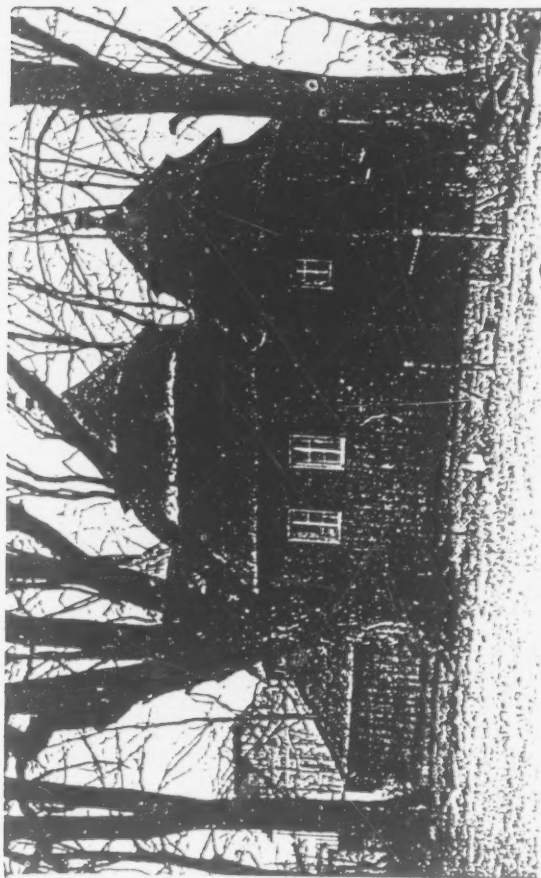
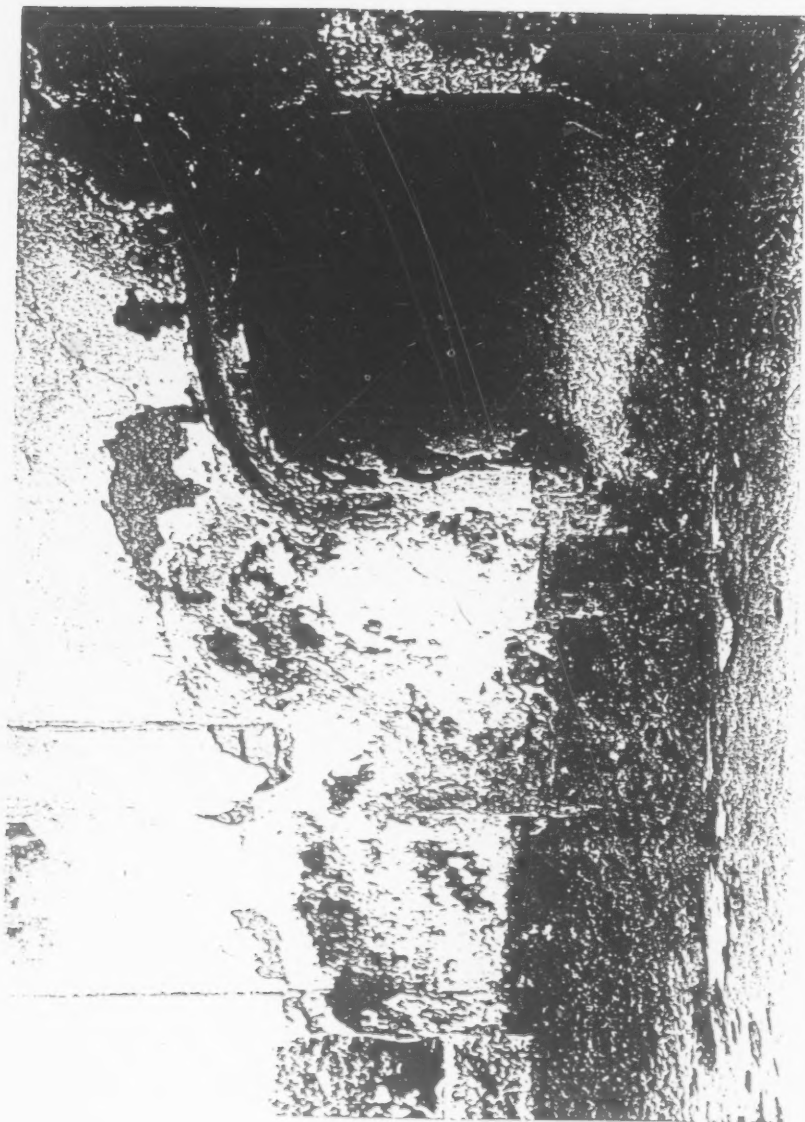


фото 1987 р. квітень село Моршин де в березні місяці власті
знищили іконостас та вивезли до російського православного храму все
внутрішнє надбання церкви, а саму церкву зачинили тільки тому, що село
відмовилося прийняти московського батюшку...



Село БОРЖАВСЬКЕ,, Виноградівського району - Карпатська Україна. В 1986 році в грудні місяці церкву було пограбовано і побито, а в 1987 р. в березні місяці вхід до церкви забили цементам...



с. Боржавське, Виноградський р-н - осб
так виглядає в'їз до церкви забудованій цементним розчином.
Фото 1787. Червоний місто



Фото 1987 р. серпень місяць,
на фотографії В. М. Гаврилюк на язичному праві католицький
собор у м. Львові поручений окупантами...



Фото 1923 р. 29 к. т. 71, Успіння Б. А.
 поблизу с. Зарваниця, куди щорічно збираються українські
 католики на відпуст

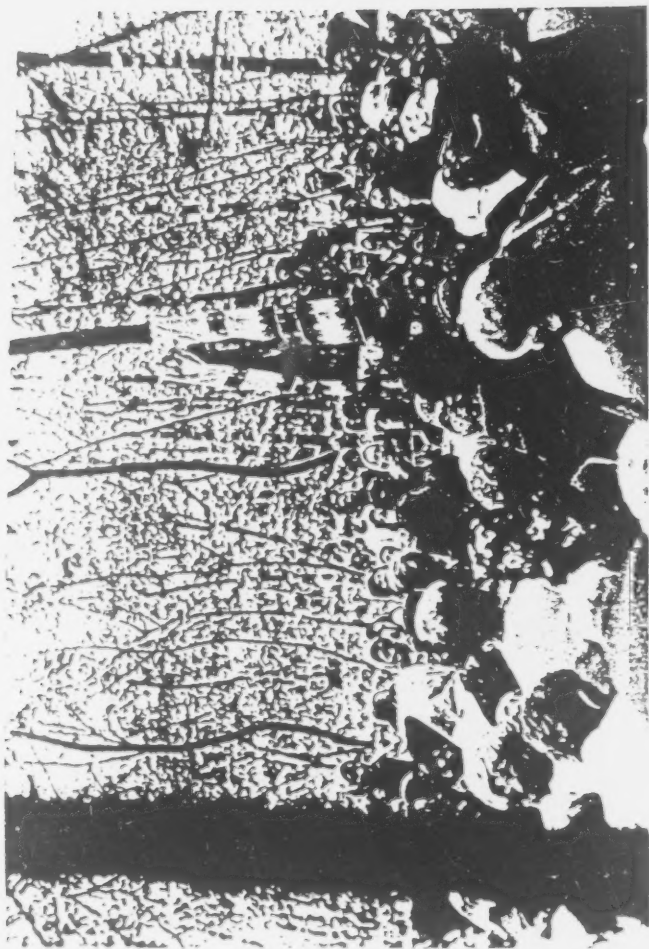
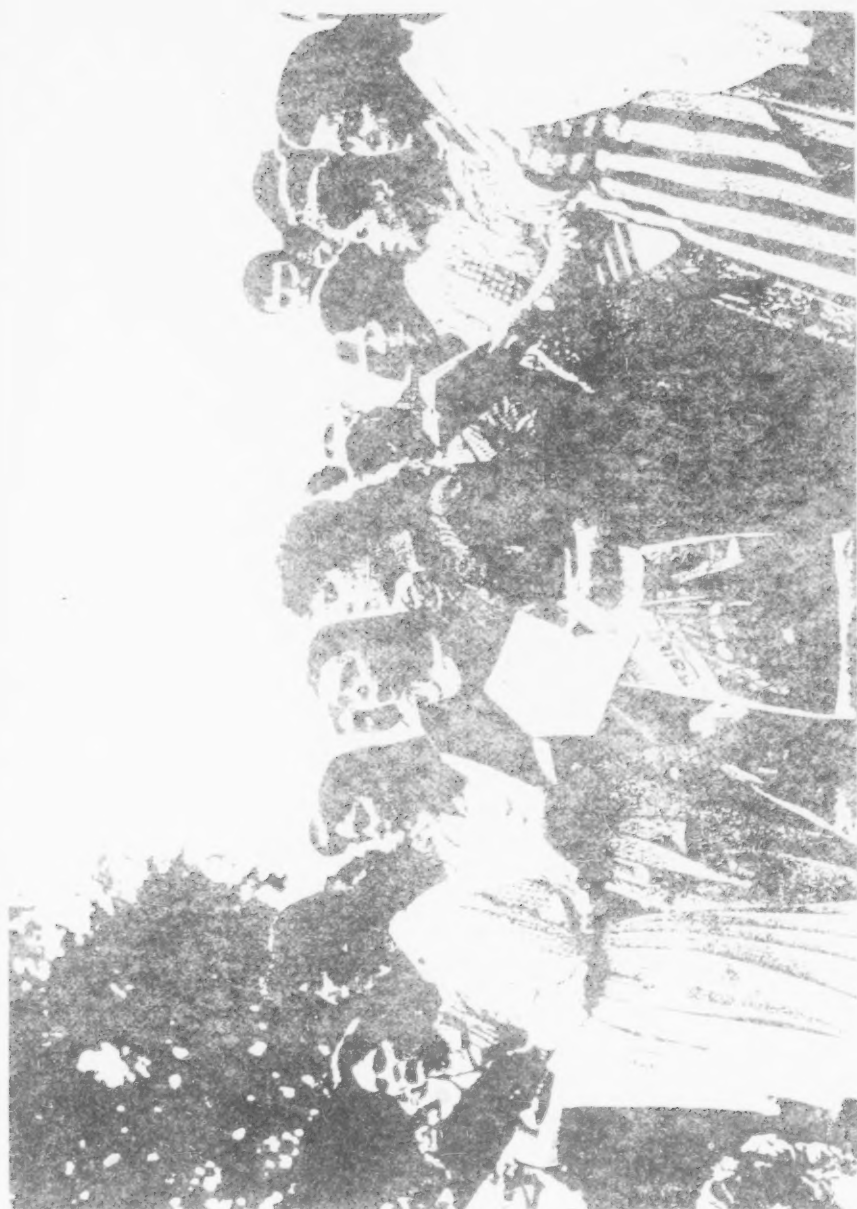


Фото 1987 р. 29 серія

під час служби Божої в лісовому урочищі біля с. Зарваниці - служби проводять владика Паоло Василук, помічники челявси о. Т. Сенків, о. М. Сімкало, о. В. Сімкало, о. М. Васько, о. М. Гавриліс та інші, після служби була відслужена пам'ятка за воїнами УПА, лавраз вірними має вродову й. Тавалля.

[illegible]



about 1917. A group of Japanese
men and women standing in front of the
American flag.

JOSYP TERELYA ---- BRIEF TO THE U.S. CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE ON SECURITY &
CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE ----- OCTOBER 22, 1987

IN THE FOLLOWING SECTION WE HAVE PHOTOGRAPHS
OF VARIOUS SOVIET PRISONS AND CAMPS

Index of photographs of prisons and camps:

- R - 1979. The Moscow investigation prison of Butyrka. Many Ukrainians, Russians and Baltic prisoners were held here. Josyp Terelya and Zinovyj Krasivskyj spent a long time here in 1972.
- S - Moscow's main KGB prison. J. Terelya was held here in 1967 & 1972.
- T - 1982. Camp Zhkh - 385/3-4, Barashevo women's political camp in Tyengushovs-kyj region of Mordovia. P. Rudenko, Halyna Barata, T. Veltchenova, Y. Belgeuskine, T. Gaspova, O. Matusevych and many others spent many years here for having defended the truth.
- U - 1985. Camp Zhkh - 385/5 Barashevo men's camp in Mordovia.
- V - Special regime camp Kuchino VS-389/36 where many political prisoners continue to suffer.
- W - Special regime camp Kuchino VS-389/36.

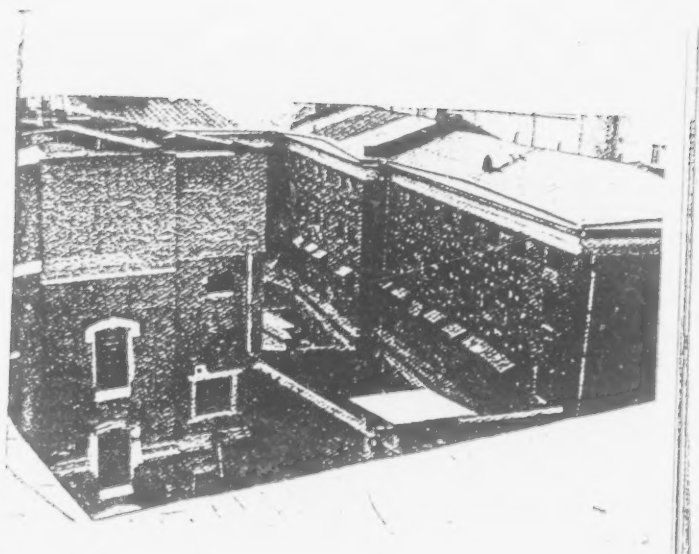
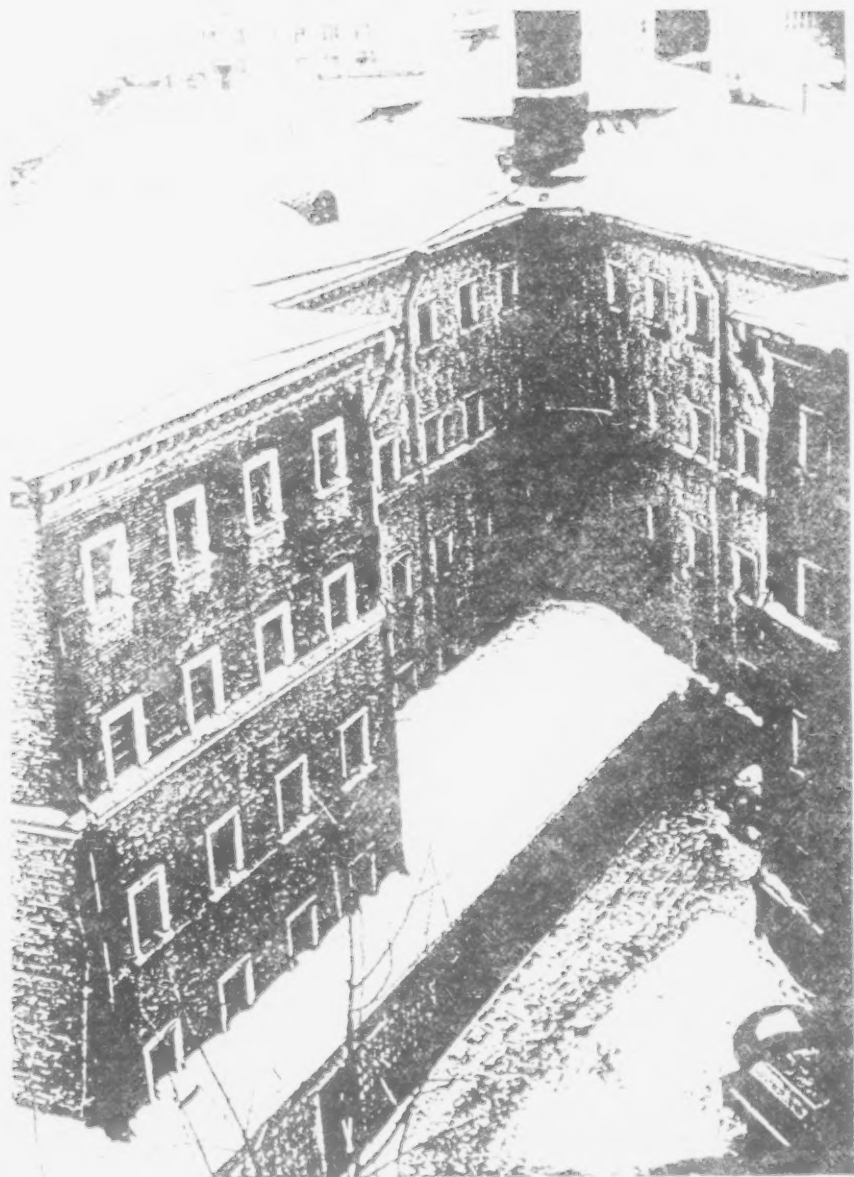


Фото 1979 року місто МОСКВА центральна пересильна
тюрма „БУТИРКА,, - тут відбували покарання багато українців,
росіян, прибалтів та багато і.в. В 1972 році в цій тюрмі довгий
час перебував Йосип Тереля та Зіновій Красівський...

Москва. Троицкий храм XVII в. в ССЗ на территории Троицкого монастыря.



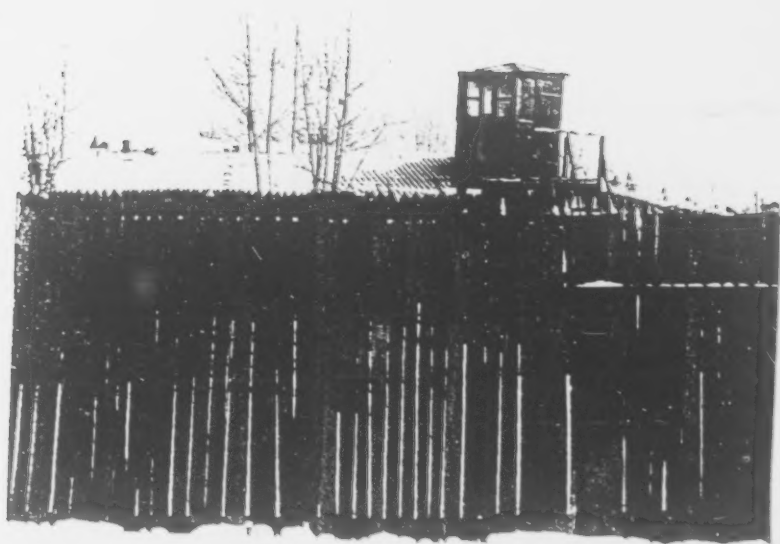


Фото 1982 року Мордовія, Теньгушовський р-н, селище Барашево концтабі
№Х -383)3-4 - жіночий політичний табір де впродовж довгих років
каралися за правду слова Р.Руденко, Галина Барац, Т. Великанова,
Я. Беляускіне, Т.Осіпова, О.Матусевич та б.і.

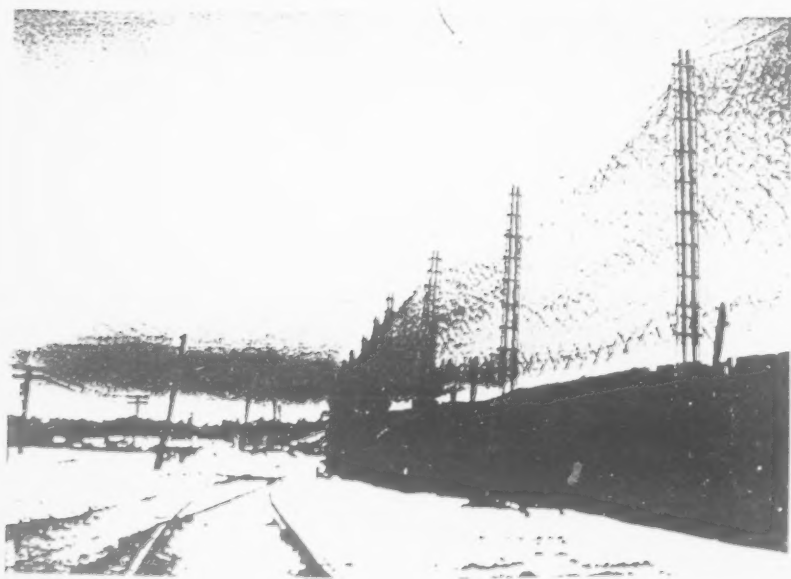
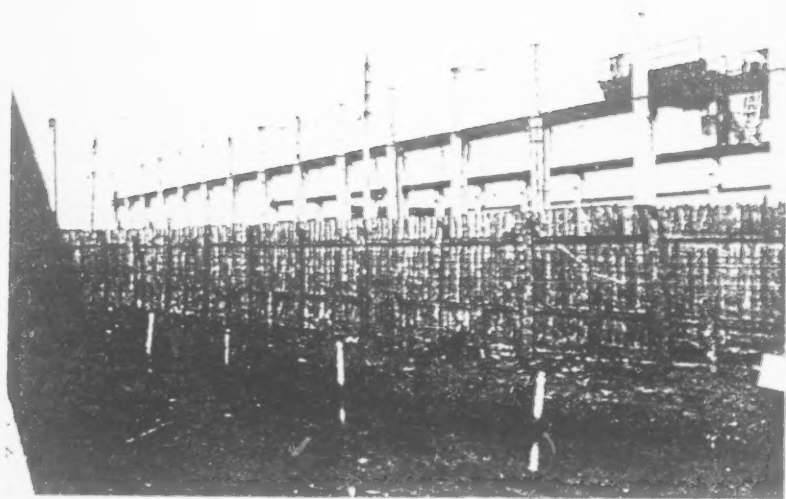
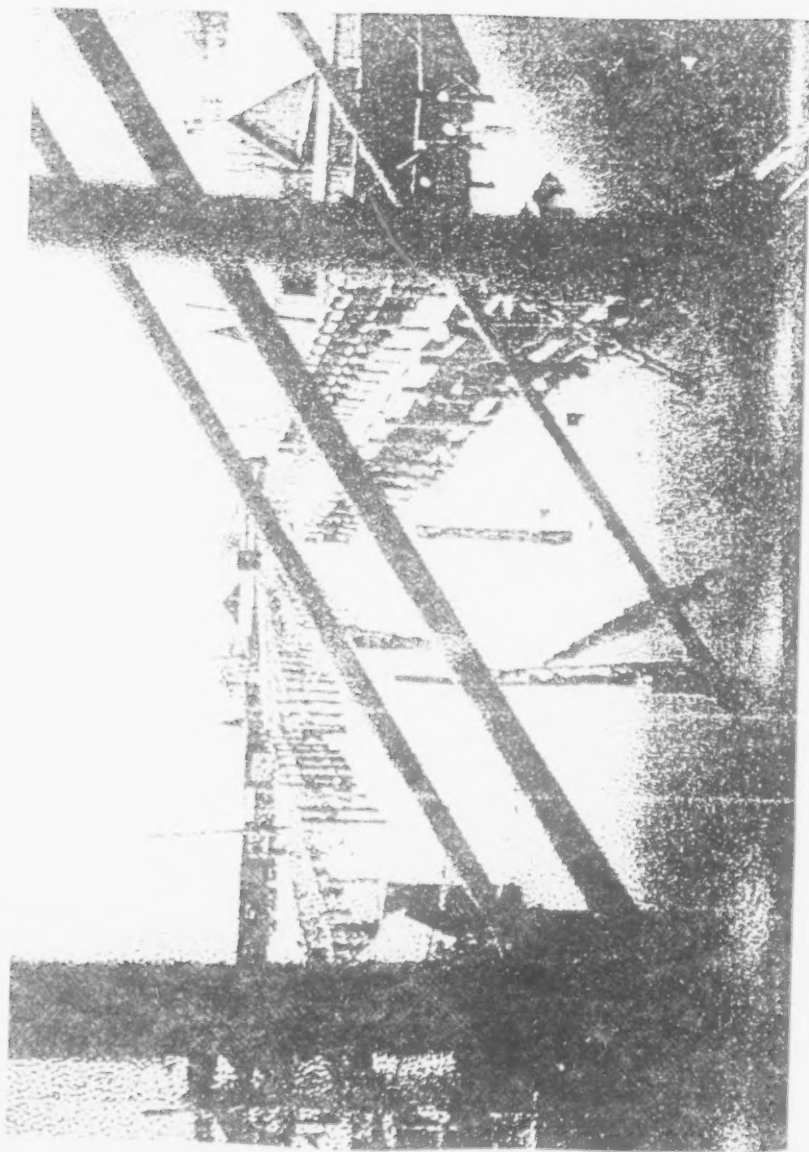
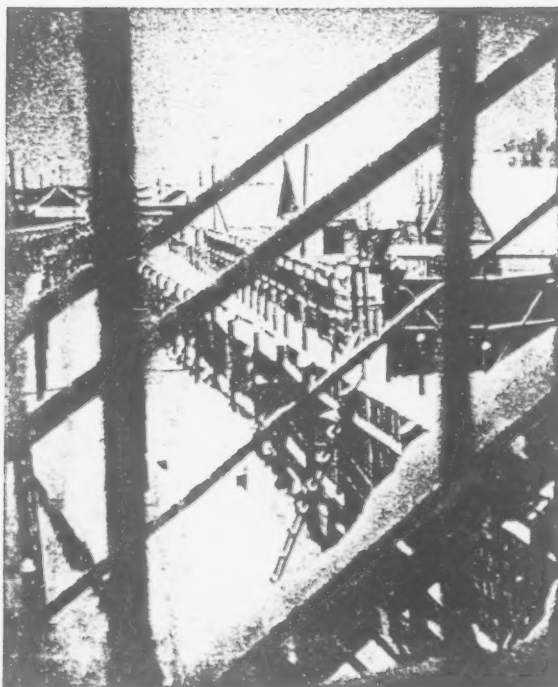


Фото 1985 року Мордовія, с-е Барашево, чоловічий концтабір ЖХ-3211



Конструкция специального режима: в Кухню ВС-469126 не включается 1 по эл. 0.44



1941. Стор. 10. 16-й стр. батальон

Концтабір особливого режиму в Кучино Пермської обл..

ВС - 389/36

JOSYP TERELYA-----STATEMENT TO THE PRESS-----OCTOBER 5/87

Dear friends: Glory to Jesus Christ !

I am overjoyed to be able to say, without worrying about the KGB: "be vigilant, strengthen Christian solidarity".

At the same time I would like to express my sincere gratitude and the gratitude of my wife and our children to the government of this free Canada - we are free, we are among you. The Prime Minister of Canada, the Most Honourable Brian Mulroney, the Minister of External Affairs, the Honourable Joe Clark and the Minister of Employment and Immigration Mr. Bouchard did everything that they could to insure that I would not be brought to trial again and that I could be among you today. I would also like to acknowledge the efforts on my behalf made by the Members of Parliament Messrs. Joe Reid and Andrew Witer, thank you sincerely. With joy and sincerity I would also like to thank the Government of Queen Beatrice of the Netherlands and the Christian communities of that country for their many efforts on my behalf and ultimately for their granting me my initial visa for travel to the West.

I am the son of my people, the son of the Apostolic, Universal Church of Christ and I can now see you and speak with you in the name of our humiliated and wronged Ukrainian Catholic community in the USSR. In 1982, on September 9th my friends and I founded a new Helsinki Group: THE INITIATIVE GROUP IN DEFENSE OF THE RIGHTS OF BELIEVERS AND THE CHURCH IN UKRAINE. The aim of this group was to bring to light the abuse of the rights of believers of all confessions on the territory of Ukraine. We knew what was ahead of us.

After three months I was arrested and sent to camp VL-315/30. In time the Ukrainian Catholic priest Fr. Anton Potochniak was brought there. Fr. Potochniak died in the camp on May 29, 1984. Fr. Potochniak was also a member of the Initiative Group and one of the authors of our Madrid Memorandum.

Reflect upon the reality: we were persecuted by the communists of Moscow and by the official Soviet Russian Orthodox Church only because we were faithful to Christ and to the Holy See (Rome) - they do not even allow us the very necessities of life. No one will even know the number of martyrs for Christ's faith who lay down their lives in the prisons and camps

of the USSR ! But we must remember that in the Soviet Gulag more Christians may have died, than for the entire period from Christ to 1917. Even today thousands of Christians remain in the camps of the USSR. The government continually resists the closing of the horrible special-regime camp in Kuchino where are imprisoned such important activists as: Lukyanenko, Kandyba, Horbal and others.

Gorbachev's government does not have the courage to condemn the unjust and illegal acts of Stalin and to once and for all solve the question of the Ukrainian Church by recognizing the legal existence of the Ukrainian national Churches: the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church.

But I also have another concern: two nuclear accidents in Ukraine. I speak here of the accidents in Chernobyl and Rovno...

I appeal to those present aid us in the evangelization of Ukraine, Byelorussia and Russia - this will guarantee peace on earth and will bring us all closer to God's Kingdom.

Thank you for your attention.

J. Terelya



ST SOPHIA RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION OF UKRAINIAN CATHOLICS IN CANADA
 CH. COCH. PERIPIRE TORONTO YKPAHILIB KATOLIKIB KANADY

PRESS RELEASE #8/87-----ST SOPHIA RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION

UKRAINIAN PRESS SERVICE-----September 24, 1987 The Hague, Amsterdam

STATEMENT OF JOSYP TERELYA UPON HIS ARRIVAL IN THE WEST

GLORY TO JESUS CHRIST !

I have been asked: how do I feel about being in the West, with my wife and children? My response: just as the Dutch people felt when they were liberated by the US Army. Have I adapted? Certainly, but this is most true of my children. They immediately made friends with the children of various lands, whom they met at the place where we are resting. Was it difficult to get me and my family out of the USSR? For now let it suffice to say yes! But everything was in God's hands.

Allow me to recognize at the outset the efforts in bringing us here made by the Royal Government of The Netherlands. More than this, they worked tirelessly on my behalf while I was imprisoned. I am very grateful, and in a Christian manner recognize their efforts in effecting my double release. I am fortunate to be able to say that in 1937 I was twice released.

I am not a political activist. But the work which I and my friends did in Ukraine has always been seen by the authorities as "political". In the USSR "politics", in the worst sense, is everything which goes against party ideology. All my adult life I have wanted only one thing: to pray freely and to work for the good of my people. We are not alone. The Ukrainian Catholic Church and its legalisation concerns the entire Christian community of our beautiful planet.

I would like to note that in the past ten years religiosity has grown among the people of the USSR, especially in Ukraine. If we look at the figures for the official Soviet Russian Orthodox Church, about 85% of its faithful live in Ukraine; the remaining 15% are in Russia and the other territories of the USSR. The paradox lies in that the dominant nation uses the donations of the faithful of Ukraine against those faithful. The Soviet Russian Orthodox Church is an unofficial agent of Soviet Russification collaborating with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR.

For over 40 years now 5 million Ukrainian Catholic faithful in Ukraine are in the catacombs. Stalin did not destroy us, nor any other leader. Why? Let me remind you of Christ's words: "Peter-Cephas and on this rock I will build my Church and the gates of

"Hell will not overcome you" (Mat. 18:19). Not only have they not conquered, but we have grown in spirit and in numbers.

O God, so great, how nice and necessary it is to live upon this sinful earth. You came to us and accepted crucifixion for us all, even those who oppose your will. Friends, we must be patient and accept the fact that Jesus will save us.

The Catholic family in the USSR is quite united in its thoughts and hopes. Today, in the USSR there are over 15 million Catholics of them 5 million Ukrainian Catholics reside in Ukraine, whereas another 1.9 million Ukrainian Catholics are spread throughout Siberia, the Far East, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzia, Uzbekistan and Turkestan. Our Church has a clear and active underground structure which includes bishops, priests, monks and nuns. We have functioning seminaries which prepare candidates for the priesthood. In Transcarpathia (the area in Ukraine from whence I come) we have an underground school for the catechetization of children. The school is under the supervision of a bishop, an archimandrite, my superiors and close friends.

We hope that the central authorities in Moscow will move in a positive direction in terms of its relations with our Church. If perestroika (reconstruction) is to be real in the USSR then the communists in Moscow must overcome their fears and legalize our Church, so that our faithful may have the same rights as those of legal religious communities in the USSR. How is it this to be achieved? Whether by quiet diplomacy or in other ways - it must be done and it will become the litmus test of perestroika. I hope that I will be able to one day return to Ukraine, with His Beatitude Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivsky.

But as a Christian I am also concerned with the fate of the many prisoners who have remained in the USSR especially those in Kuchino special regime camp #36-1. I appeal for the immediate release with no pre-conditions of these prisoners. This would be a sign of the veracity of the intentions proclaimed in perestroika by the government of the USSR. That government must once and for all realize that the problem of Christians in the USSR must be settled. Tolerance and more tolerance. We do not accept inequality and persecution for some and privilege and support for others. Of particular concern is the highly privileged position of the Soviet Russian Orthodox Church. The hierarchy of the Soviet ROC has nothing and can have nothing in common with the Synodal Russian Orthodox Church which survives in the West and in the underground in the USSR.

Mr. Gorbachev has spoken a few words, but that means little, this is not action, we see no fruits yet. Much is said about freedom and democracy, which have suddenly come to the USSR, but where have they been a full 70 years? I personally am willing to believe, above all the "no's" that the communists in Moscow will change their attitude towards Christians. But only when this happens will we be able to say we are no longer threatened by nuclear war. Peace will come, but only when the USSR finds in itself the strength to accept the ideas and words of Jesus. Further, as a spokesman for the faithful of the Church in Ukraine I solemnly profess that we are all faithful to the Apostolic See of Rome with His Holiness John Paul II as its head and to the head of the Particular Ukrainian Catholic Church His Beatitude Patriarch Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivsky.

(Iosyp Terelya)

APPENDIX B

22 OCT 87

SENATOR ALFONSE D'AMATO
OPENING STATEMENT
HELSINKI COMMISSION HEARING ON
UKRAINE AND GEORGIA

MR. CHAIRMAN:

I WANT TO THANK YOU AND OUR DISTINGUISHED CO-CHAIRMAN, THE SENIOR SENATOR FROM ARIZONA, FOR SCHEDULING THIS IMPORTANT HEARING. AS WE HEAR MORE AND MORE ABOUT THE BENEFITS OF GORBACHEV'S "NEW THINKING," IT IS APPROPRIATE TO ASK HOW IT IS BEING APPLIED. GEORGIAN AND UKRAINIAN RELIGIOUS AND HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS HAVE BEEN PARTICULAR TARGETS OF SOVIET REPRESSION, SO TODAY'S WITNESSES ARE WELL QUALIFIED TO PROVIDE US WITH VALUABLE INSIGHTS INTO DEVELOPMENTS INSIDE THE SOVIET UNION.

BEFORE COMMENTING FURTHER ON THIS MORNING'S HEARING, I WANT TO NOTE THAT THE NOBEL COMMITTEE ANNOUNCED THE AWARD OF THE NOBEL PRIZE FOR LITERATURE TO JOSEPH BRODSKY THIS MORNING. BRODSKY IS, BY ADOPTION, A NEW YORKER. HE WAS EXPELLED FROM THE SOVIET UNION AS A "SOCIAL PARASITE" IN 1974.

I WANT TO CONGRATULATE HIM ON WINNING THE NOBEL LITERATURE PRIZE AND SAY THAT IF THE SOVIET UNION HAS ANY MORE SUCH "SOCIAL PARASITES," WE WILL BE PLEASED TO WELCOME THEM.

THE HELSINKI ACCORDS PROVIDE THAT EACH SIGNATORY STATE SHALL RESPECT EVERY PERSON'S FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE OR BELIEF. THE WEST INTENDED THAT PROVISION TO PROTECT WHAT WE KNOW AS RELIGIOUS FREEDOM FOR ALL. UNFORTUNATELY, SINCE AUGUST 1, 1975, WHEN THE FINAL ACT WAS SIGNED IN HELSINKI, THE SOVIET RECORD IN THIS AREA COULD BE ACCURATELY CHARACTERIZED AS ONE OF SYSTEMATIC AND ACTIVE VIOLATION OF THIS RIGHT.

I LOOK FORWARD TO HEARING THE VIEWS OF JOSYP TERELYA AND DANYLO SHUMUK REGARDING THE UKRAINIAN UNIATE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND OFFICIAL SOVIET ACTIONS TOWARD IT. I AM ALSO INTERESTED IN LEARNING ABOUT SOVIET ATTEMPTS TO "RUSSIFY" UKRAINE THROUGH DESTRUCTION OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE, LANGUAGE, AND HISTORICAL MONUMENTS AND SITES.

I ALSO LOOK FORWARD TO LEARNING FROM EDUARD AND TENGHIZ GUDAVA ABOUT THEIR EXPERIENCES IN GEORGIA. I AM CERTAIN THEY HAVE MUCH TO TELL US ABOUT THE SUPPRESSION OF GEORGIAN MOSLEMS, OF GEORGIAN CATHOLICS, AND OF BELIEVERS OF OTHER FAITHS. SINCE THEY PARTICIPATED IN THE GEORGIAN HELSINKI MONITORING GROUP, THEY CAN TELL US MUCH ABOUT THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN GEORGIA.

SO, WITHOUT FURTHER DELAY, I WILL END MY REMARKS SO WE MAY HEAR FROM OUR PANELS OF WITNESSES.

THANK YOU, MR. CHAIRMAN.

APPENDIX C

Statement of Senator Harry Reid
at the hearing of the
Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe
October 22, 1987

As a new member of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, I would like to express how happy I am to be associated with a group which has helped to achieve the release of such brave men as these witnesses, and which continues to pressure the Soviets to comply with all aspects of the Helsinki Final Act.

These men, Josyp Terelya, Danylo Shumuk, and Tenghiz and Eduard Gudava, all so recently released from the Soviet Union, have come to bear witness to the cruel reality of persecution which they have endured, and which is still unfortunately so common in their native land. I salute these men for their courage, tenacity, and faith in standing up for human rights, and religious, national, and political freedom of expression. They are an inspiration to people everywhere, and I welcome them here.

At this time we hear a great deal about the new "openness" and "restructuring" going on in the USSR. It is important that we do what we can to make sure that it is not just superficial window dressing. We cannot accept Mr. Gorbachev's words alone, without substantiating deeds. The General Secretary has made a promising beginning by increasing emigration and allowing somewhat broader expression in the arts and media, but this is not enough. Prisoners of conscience must be released and the use of psychiatry to punish such prisoners must cease. The ability to openly worship and practice one's religion must be affirmed. National groups must be allowed to preserve their heritage by teaching their native languages. Those who wish to emigrate must be allowed to do so.

In the current environment of cooperation which is envisioned by summit meetings and perhaps even an arms agreement, the time is right for us to call on the Soviets to recommit themselves to the Helsinki Final Act, and to show their commitment through concrete actions.

APPENDIX D

STATEMENT OF SENATOR FRANK LAUTENBERG

BEFORE THE COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

OCTOBER 22, 1987

* I'M SO PLEASED TO WELCOME DANYLO SHUMUK (DA - NI LO SHOO - MOOK) AND JOSYP TERELYA (YO-SIF TEH - RE -LAH) AND TENGIZ AND EDUARD GUDAVA TO WASHINGTON.

* I WANT TO THANK THEM FOR COMING TO SHARE THEIR EXPERIENCES WITH US THIS MORNING.

* OUR HONORED GUESTS HAVE SHOWN INSPIRING BRAVERY AND COURAGE DURING THEIR LONG FIGHT FOR FREEDOM.

* JOSYP TERLYA SPENT 20 LONG YEARS IN SOVIET PRISONS, LABOR CAMPS AND PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS BECAUSE HE FOUGHT FOR THE RIGHT OF ALL UKRAINIAN CATHOLICS TO PRACTICE THEIR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

* DANYLO SHUMUK SPENT 42 YEARS IN POLISH, SOVIET AND GERMAN LABOR CAMPS, PRISONS AND PLACES OF INTERNAL EXILE BECAUSE OF HIS FIGHT FOR UKRAINIAN NATIONAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS. A MEMBER OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI MONITORING GROUP, HE WAS AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL'S MOST SENIOR ADOPTED PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE UNTIL HIS RELEASE LAST MAY.

* TENGIZ AND EDUARD GUDAVA ALSO HAVE A MOVING STORY TO TELL OF REPRESSION IN THE SOVIET UNION THAT IS NOT PRETTY. I KNOW THEY WILL SPEAK TO YOU OF THAT STORY HERE TODAY.

* THEIR EXPERIENCES REMIND US OF HOW FAR THE SOVIET UNION MUST COME TO ACHIEVE THE PROMISES OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS, AND THE ELUSIVE PROMISE OF GLASNOST.

* OF HOW FAR GLASNOST IS FROM AMERICAN'S IDEAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

* AS LONG AS THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC AND ORTHODOX CHURCHES ARE BANNED... AS LONG AS THERE ARE 5 MILLION UKRAINIAN CATHOLICS WHO CANNOT PRACTICE THEIR FAITH OPENLY... AS LONG AS FORCED RUSSIFICATION CONTINUES TO TAKE PLACE, HOW CAN WE TAKE MIKHAIL GORBACHEV'S PROMISE OF GLASNOST SERIOUSLY?

* AS LONG AS THE REGIME CAMP KUCHINO #36 IS OPEN FOR BUSINESS, AND PEOPLE LIKE LEV LUKANENKO, PETRO RUBEN AND OTHER PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE LANGUISH IN SOVIET PRISONS AND CAMPS, THERE IS NO REAL GLASNOST AS FAR AS I'M CONCERNED.

* IN FACT, TIME AFTER TIME, SOVIET CITIZENS I MET TOLD ME THAT GLASNOST IS A PUBLICITY CAMPAIGN FOR THE WEST MORE THAN A HUMAN RIGHTS MIRACLE FOR THE SOVIETS.

* THOUGH I DID NOT VISIT KIEV DURING MY TRIP, I RAISED THE NAMES OF THESE PRISONERS WITH EVERY SOVIET OFFICIAL I MET.

* I MADE CLEAR TO THEM THAT ALTHOUGH THE SOVIETS WOULD LIKE TO DISMISS THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AS A FRONT FOR UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM, OR DENY ITS EXISTENCE, WE IN AMERICA KNOW BETTER.

* I MADE CLEAR TO THEM THE HIGH PRIORITY AMERICANS ATTACH TO UKRAINIAN SELF-DETERMINATION AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.

* WE WILL NOT BE FOOLED BY GLOSSY PROMISES OR GESTURES. WE WILL CONTINUE TO INSIST THAT THE SOVIETS COMPLY WITH THE PROMISES THEY MADE AT HELSINKI.

* AND I'LL TELL YOU THIS.

* AS LONG AS YOU HAVE PEOPLE LIKE DANYLO SHUMUK AND YOSYP TERELIA AND THE GUDAVA'S WHO WILLING TO TELL THEIR STORIES -- AND SPEND THEIR LIVES -- FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS, THERE IS HOPE.

* AS LONG AS THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE CONTINUE TO RESIST THE SOVIET ATTEMPTS TO STRIP THEM OF THEIR LANGUAGE, THEIR CULTURE AND THEIR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS, THERE IS HOPE.

* I GIVE YOU MY WORD AS ONE WHO HAS HEARD YOUR STORIES FIRSTHAND -- THAT YOUR SUFFERING HAS NOT BEEN IN VAIN. NEITHER THIS SENATOR NOR THE U.S. CONGRESS WILL NOT FORGET THE PLIGHT OF THOSE YOU LEFT BEHIND.

* THANK YOU ALL FOR COMING.

APPENDIX E

STATEMENT OF SENATOR JOHN HEINZ

HELSINKI HEARING

OCTOBER 22, 1987

Mr. Chairman, I think many of us find the testimony and experiences of today's witnesses especially moving and important. Those of us who have recently been to the USSR to assess the condition of human rights there understand the vehement feelings our witnesses have about Gorbachev and his reform program.

The Gorbachev program raises a challenge to all of us who care about human rights in the Soviet Union. As the witnesses point out, glasnost and restructuring have yet to reach the human rights area. But we have to ask -- is there anything we can do to see that it does? Is there anything to be done so that the small opening under Gorbachev is pried wide open, allowing the grim human rights problems of Soviet society to be examined and corrected in the light?

I met with Russian Orthodox activists in Moscow last May. They gave me a flavor of how recognized religion is persecuted in the Soviet Union today. Josyp Terelya's experiences, and that of the banned Ukrainian Catholic Church, are clearly altogether

worse. But just as the Orthodox persevere against repression, the fact that over 6 million faithful in the Soviet Union follow the Ukrainian Catholic Church is proof that the KGB is, in the long run, no match for the courage of religious belief.

My discussions in Moscow focused on respect for human rights such as freedom of religion, of expression, of emigration. National rights remain an area of gross abuse of human rights in the USSR. This gets less attention because we forget that the USSR is a multi-national empire. No nation has suffered more than the Ukraine for its national identity. The russification of Ukrainian culture is alarming. I would hope to hear from today's witnesses how this can be fought, how Ukrainian culture can be defended from totalitarian pressure.

The challenge of Gorbachev's human rights policy remains the same: how to exploit it to bring about real change, while recognizing that there has been no basic change in Soviet official attitudes. I thank today's witnesses for sharing their perspectives on this vital question.

APPENDIX F

STATEMENT OF HON. DANIEL A. MICA, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, BEFORE THE HEARING
OF THE COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

As Chairman of the Commission on the Ukraine Famine, I would like to take this opportunity to compliment the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe for the outstanding work it is doing in monitoring the Soviet compliance with the Helsinki Accord, particularly with the Basket III commitments to observe fundamental human rights.

The commission which I chair deals with a matter of history: how the Soviet Government in 1932-1933 created a famine artificially and in so doing condemned millions of Soviet citizens, primarily Ukrainians, to death by starvation. We have heard from those who witnessed these events. We have collected hundreds of oral histories. We have conducted extensive research into the Soviet policies of that day. The research conducted by our staff has demonstrated conclusively that the administration of that day knew a great deal about this tragedy, as did many other governments.

At that time, what few international agreements in the field of human rights then existing, took the form of specific obligations undertaken by a limited number of states to protect minorities. Beyond that, even the most heinous violations of human rights committed by governments against their citizens were considered an internal affair of the perpetrator government itself. There was little if anything that could be done under international law, and for this reason, the governments of the world had little alternative but to wash their hands of the matter.

I cite this example as an illustration of how tremendously important are the various international commitments which today seek to guarantee the observance of universally accepted human rights norms, whether through world commitments, like the International Declaration of Human Rights or the Genocide Treaty, or through agreements with individual states or groups of states, like the Helsinki Accords. The members of CSCE and those who follow its efforts know that the Helsinki process has not in itself brought about any golden age in the observance of human rights. As the witnesses today from Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Georgia can testify from personal experience, the Soviets have not lived up to their Basket III commitments.

By signing Basket III, however, the Soviet Union and its client states acknowledged that how they treated their populations has ceased to be a purely internal matter. More importantly, the Helsinki process for the first time provided a mechanism by which compliance and non-compliance could be determined. Because of this, it became a matter of vital interest for the United States to establish its own monitoring body consisting of representatives of the executive and both Houses of the Congress, the Helsinki Commission. The Commission has functioned admirably in its role of watchdog over the Helsinki process, pointing out progress where it has taken place as well as the many violations such as those we shall hear about today.

